



Thomas W. Benton.

A POPULAR

HISTORY OF OREGON

FROM

The Discovery of America to the Admission of the
State into the Union.

BY

HARRY L. WELLS,

Author of Histories of Siskiyou, Butte, Plumas, Sierra and Nevada Counties, California, and contributor
to the "History of the State of Nevada," and to histories of the counties of San Joaquin,
Sacramento, Yuba and Sutter, California; Walla Walla, Columbia, Garfield
and Whitman, Washington Territory, and Umatilla, Jackson,
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PREFATORY.

HAVING been frequently impressed with the discreditable ignorance of the history of this state displayed, not only by the rising generation of Oregon, but by those whose task it is to instruct them in our public schools and higher institutions of learning, as well as by the great mass of our citizens whose residence in the state dates back but a decade of years, the writer resolved to prepare a volume which would present the early annals of Oregon in a concise and entertaining form, unencumbered with a mass of foot-notes and references, at the same time preserving that accuracy of fact and minuteness of detail that would render it suitable for the use of the student. The writer has approached his task with a mind entirely free from the prejudices, animosities and denominational zeal which have rendered Oregon's historical writers totally incapable of preparing a just and impartial chronicle. The frailty of human nature renders it impossible for one who has been in the heat of battle, or who has a deep personal interest in the combatants or the issue of the conflict, to give an absolutely impartial and trustworthy account of the struggle. Histories have been written from partisan standpoints, either political or religious, rendering them merely *ex parte* arguments. Guided chiefly by the effect desired to be produced upon certain questions at issue, their authors have taken but little pains to render their works complete or correct as to events not directly connected with their theme, while their mental bias affects the whole; hence, in no respect, are they reliable. This volume is the result of much study of former histories, printed and written documents, official records, files of pioneer papers in California, Oregon, Nevada and Washington, and the oral testimony of hundreds of the participants in the events narrated.

H. L. W.

PORTLAND, OREGON, April 5, 1889.

ERRATA.

- Page 19, line 3, for *Hispanola*, read *Hispaniola*.
Page 24, line 29, for *conquesitador*, read *conquistador*.
Page 51, line 33, for *thought*, read *though*.
Page 73, line 10, for *twenty*, read *ten*.
Page 169, line 5, after *When*, insert *the Northwest Company was*.
Page 186, line 6, for *1826*, read *1827*.
Page 194, line 26, after *David Prior*, insert *John Turner*.
Page 199, line 25, for *La Rivier de Caquuin*, read *Riviere des Coquins*.
Page 203, line 8, for *two*, read *three*.
Page 230, line 50, for *Willamette*, read *Walamet*.
Page 264, line 20, for *Publically*, read *publicly*.
Page 286, line 1, for *1855*, read *1845*.
Page 287, line 14, after *and*, insert *all the*. Strike out *all the* in line 15.
Page 312, line 24, for *Dr. McLoughlin*, read *Mr. Douglas*.
Page 329, line 12 from bottom, for *nineteenth*, read *twenty-fifth*.
Page 349, line 20, after *they*, insert *not*.
Page 358, line 14, for *Ross*, read *Rosa*.
Page 397, line 34, for *Tager*, read *Yager*.
Page 475, line 17, for *1855*, read *1865*.

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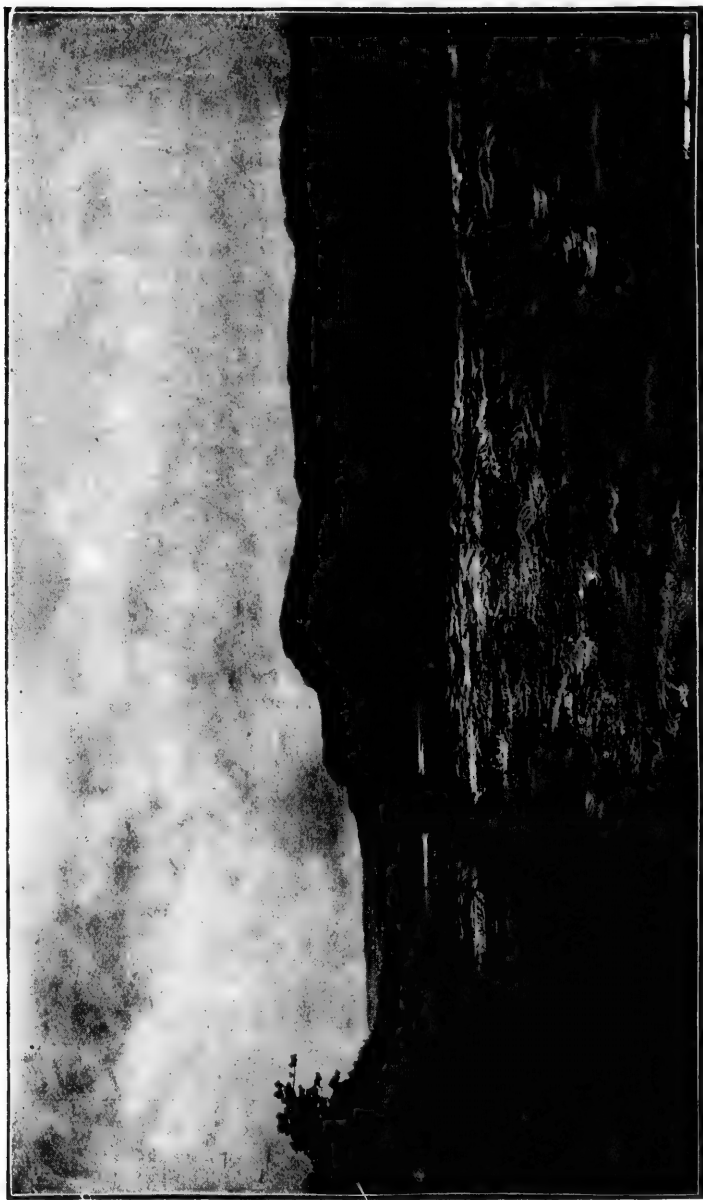
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LOWER CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA.

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CHAPTER I.

AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Spain's Foothold in the New World—The Age of Romance and Adventure—The Method and Successive Stages of Conquest—Discovery of the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, by Balboa and Magellan—Conquest of Mexico and Peru—First Attempt to Colonize the Peninsula of California—Efforts of Portugal, England and France.

DURING the fifty years immediately following the discovery of America, Spain gained a firm and lasting foothold in the New World. Ferdinand and Isabella, those Christian rulers who sat upon the united throne of Castile and Aragon, and freed their kingdom from the invading Moors, and redeemed it from the faith of Islam, and under whose patronage Columbus sailed upon that voyage which revealed to an astonished world a new continent and a vast unknown ocean, were succeeded in power by the mighty Charles V. Under the reign of this enlightened monarch, the most powerful, wise and enterprising ruler that ever sat upon the throne of Spain, that nation approached the zenith of its power, wealth and importance in the political affairs of Europe. This she reached and passed during the reign of his son and successor, the haughty Philip, whose power and magnificence was supported chiefly from the endless stream of treasure which flowed into the kingdom from conquered provinces in the New World, or from the commerce of the East. There existed no rival to share with her the riches of the long-sought Indies, save ambitious little Portugal, who had early gained a footing there and established a considerable commerce by the long and tedious route around the southern extremity of Africa.

While other nations confined themselves to occasional voyages of exploration and spasmodic efforts at planting feeble colonies, Spain was pursuing a vigorous policy of conquest and colonization. That was the halcyon age of romance and adventure, and Spain led the van. The whole nation seemed imbued with a spirit of conquest. Imagination and romance peopled this vast unknown land with nations of strange civilization and amazing wealth; made it the repository of gold, pearls and precious gems in such fabulous quantity that the greatest riches of the known world seemed but the veriest dross in comparison; gave into its keeping the mystical fountain of youth; endowed it with all the beauties and wonders of earth, air and water the mind could conceive, and even located within its confines the Terrestrial Paradise from whose gates the angel of the Almighty had driven the great progenitors of mankind with a flaming sword of fire. Beyond this was the great South Sea, with its thousands of islands—a region romance had filled with nations of Amazons and enriched with gold and pearls; while still further was the Indies with its known treasures of silk and porcelain; the magnificent Cathay, that land of great cities and hoarded wealth, of which Marco Polo had written; and the marvellous Island of Cipango, whose treasures were ready to fall into the lap of him who was bold enough to seek them.

Stimulated by avarice, love of adventure and a religious zeal which often approached fanaticism, many of the nobles of Spain embarked upon expeditions of exploration and conquest, accompanied by bands of equally avaricious, adventuresome and fanatic soldiers, whose reward for their services consisted chiefly of the plunder obtained in their bloody campaigns. Such expeditions were fostered and encouraged by the Spanish monarch, who saw in them a means of extending his power and dominions, and filling his treasury with the supposed wealth of the New World. Whoever discovered and conquered a new country in the name of the king was commissioned governor, or viceroy, of the subdued region, and granted all riches he might thus acquire, save only that which was to be the portion of the crown. In this way America was invaded from Florida to Chili.

Briefly summarized, the successive steps by which Spain grasped

the richest portions of the New World were as follows: In 1495, only three years after the memorable voyage of Columbus, the Island of Hayti was conquered and named "Nuevo Hispanola," a name afterwards transferred to Mexico. Here work was begun in the mines, the natives being enslaved to perform the labor. These being found physically unable to endure the hardships imposed upon them, negroes were imported from Guinea for that purpose, thus laying the foundation of African slavery, which the civilization of the nineteenth century has not yet been able fully to abolish. In 1511 the Island of Cuba was invaded by 300 men, and conquered in the name of the king of Spain. In 1513 Vasco Nunez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Darien and discovered the great South Sea, of which the natives had so confidently spoken that it had already found a place on the maps of European geographers. Seven years later the great Magellan entered it through the straits that bear his name, and christened it "Pacific." In 1519 Cortes landed in Mexico, and with an army of 950 soldiers and a great cloud of Indian auxiliaries invaded the ancient kingdom of the Montezumas. In two years he completely subjugated the country, his progress being marked by the blood of the Aztecs poured out like water in the defense. Ten years later the cruel Pizarro, whose only object was conquest and plunder, entered Peru with a thousand men, subdued the country and plundered the kingdom of the Incas of its treasures of gold and silver. In 1535 Mendoza entered Buenos Ayres at the head of 2,000 men and subjugated the country as far as Potosi, whose famous mines of silver were discovered nine years later. In 1537, Cortes, seeking further conquests to the westward of Mexico, landed at Santa Cruz, near the lower extremity of the peninsula of California, but finding neither wealth nor civilized nations, and being unable to subsist his force in such a barren land, soon abandoned his effort at colonization and returned to Mexico. In 1541, Chili was conquered by the restless adventurers of Spain.

By the middle of the sixteenth century Spain had conquered and colonized every portion of America inhabited by wealthy and semi-civilized nations, and was enjoying a revenue of almost fabulous amount from her provinces in the New World. Portugal alone, of all her rivals, had accomplished anything of a similar nature,

having planted a colony in Brazil. England and France had succeeded simply in laying a foundation for a claim of dominion in North America, but, unlike their enterprising rival, received as yet no revenue from the New World. Such was the condition of affairs when the first efforts were made to explore the coast of Oregon.

CHAPTER II.

THE FABULOUS STRAITS OF ANIAN.

Cortereal Discovers the Straits of Labrador—Imagines he has passed through Novus Mundus—Vasco de Gama reaches India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope—Naming of the Straits of Anian by Cortereal—Magellan's Discovery of a Southwest Passage Confirms the Belief in a Northwest one—Explorations of Cortes in the Pacific—Voyage of Francisco de Ulloa—Mendoza Dispatches Alarcon and Coronado in Search of Cibola and Quivira—Voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo—His Death—Ferrello Continues the Voyage to Latitude 43° or 44° Spain Abandons the Search for the Straits of Anian and Turns her Attention to the Indies—Spanish Commerce Supreme in the Pacific—Her Claim of Exclusive Domain—The Buccaneers, or Freebooters of the Spanish Main, Invade the Pacific—Piratical Voyage of Sir Francis Drake—He Searches for the Straits of Anian—Dispute among Historians as to the Extent of his Voyage—Drake Lands his Pilot in Oregon—Drake's Bay not the Bay of San Francisco—Drake Takes Possession of New Albion—Romances of Chaplain Fletcher—Drake's Success Excites the Emulation of other Adventurers—Fraudulent Claims of Discovery of a Northwest Passage—Maldonado's Pretended Voyage through the Straits of Anian—His Memorial a Sham.

THE immediate cause which led to the discovery and consequent occupation of Oregon was the long and eager search for the mythical Northwest Passage, which continued for nearly three centuries, and was participated in by seven of the leading nations of the world, England, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Russia and the United States; and since it makes so conspicuous an object in the foreground of Oregon's history, it is worthy an extended description.

One of the most noted of the many explorers attracted to the New World by the great discovery of Columbus, was Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese. In the year 1500 this great navigator explored the Atlantic coast of North America—then called "Novus Mundus," and supposed to be a portion of the continent of Asia, extending a long distance to the eastward—and sailing round the coast of Labrador entered the straits which lie in the 60th degree north latitude. Through these he passed into Hudson's Bay, supposing he had now entered waters which communicated with the Indian ocean. Absurd as this supposition is in the light of our present knowledge of the earth's surface, it was by no means so when the geographical ideas and theories prevailing at that time are considered. It must be remembered that eight years had not yet passed since the voyage of Columbus had compelled the world to accept the theory which he and a few others had for years been enthusiastically advocating—that the earth was round and could be encompassed by traveling either east or west. Though this was now generally admitted, no one had ever actually accomplished the journey, and, in consequence, the distance round the globe was a matter simply of conjecture. That it was more than half the distance it was afterwards found to be, no one at that time imagined; and this accounts for the belief that Novus Mundus was a portion of Asia, of whose eastern coast geographers had no knowledge whatever, and for the supposition of Cortereal that he had passed through this new land and entered a sea connecting with the Indian Ocean, when, in fact, he was not within ten thousand miles of that great body of water. Two years before, one of these Portuguese navigators, Vasco de Gama, had reached the Indian Ocean by sailing eastward around the Cape of Good Hope, a voyage historians believe to have been frequently accomplished in ancient days by those venturesome mariners, the Phœnicians; and now Cortereal believed that he had found a route into the same waters by passing around the northern extremity of the New World.

To the straits through which he had passed he gave the name of "Anian," and the land to the south of them he called Labrador, and these were variously indicated on the subsequent maps as "Straits of Anian," "Straits of Cortereal," "Straits of Labrador," "Land of Cortereal," and "Land of Labrador." The exact sig-

nificance of the word "Anian" is generally admitted to be unknown, although it has been the subject of much dispute. By some it was claimed to have been derived from the Japanese word *Ani*, meaning "brother," and to have been applied to these straits because Cortereal believed them to separate Asia and Novus Mundus, which stood on opposite sides in brotherly conjunction; but as Japan was at that time utterly unknown—unless, indeed, it was that wonderful Island of Cipango, of whose fabulous riches such extravagant expectations had been created,—Cortereal can hardly be assumed to have been sufficiently familiar with the language to employ it in bestowing names to the exclusion of his native tongue, and especially to the ignoring of that long list of saints which furnished such an inexhaustible supply of names for the devout Spanish and Portuguese explorers, lying as thick upon the map of America as pin holes in an old paper pattern.

A few years later the ideas of geographers in regard to the size of the world began to expand, and with the discovery of the South Sea all belief in the proximity of the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean vanished. In 1820, Magellan, another Portuguese mariner, but sailing under the flag of Spain, entered the South Sea through the straits which bear his name, and bestowed the name "Pacific" upon it. The voyage was continued westward until the world had been circumnavigated, and an approximate idea of the distance around it was thus gained by geographers. Belief was immediately revived in the Straits of Anian. It was then supposed that Cortereal's passage led from the Atlantic into the South Sea, of whose immensity the world had become deeply impressed, since Magellan had traversed it in its broadest part. If the North American continent narrowed northward as South America had been found to do in the opposite direction, then it must be but a short distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the region of Labrador; and since a passage had been found through the land to the south—for in their ignorance of the open sea below South America, geographers believed Magellan's Straits to be simply a narrow waterway piercing the heart of the continent where it was much narrower than elsewhere—it was reasonable to suppose that a similar one existed to the north, especially since Cortereal had reported finding it. To discover this northwest passage was the desire of explorers for many years there-

after. England, France and Portugal, and Holland in later years, sought it in the Atlantic, while Spain put forth her efforts to attain the same object in the Pacific. To the efforts made in the latter direction this narrative will be chiefly confined, since to them is due the discovery of Oregon and the complete exploration of the Pacific Coast.

When Cortez had subjugated Mexico he at once began constructing vessels on the western coast of Central America for service in the Pacific. He possessed a roving commission from his sovereign, the powerful Charles V., which granted him almost despotic powers as a ruler in all new countries he might discover and subdue in the name of the king, the conquests to be made at his own expense and risk, and the expeditions to be fitted out from his own resources. To follow his movements in detail is unnecessary. They resulted in the discovery and temporary colonization of Lower California, the discovery of the Colorado River, and the knowledge that the Sea of Cortes, or the Vermilion Sea, was a gulf, the one now known as the "Gulf of California."

It had been the plan of Cortes to coast northward, westward and southward, along America and Asia, until he reached the Indies, noting the exact position of the Straits of Anian as he passed; but the vessels he had constructed for that purpose were ordered to be sent in a direct path across the Pacific, and he was compelled to build others. It was with these that his expeditions along the Mexican Coast and in Lower California were conducted. The first attempt to pass around the southern extremity of the Peninsula of California and follow the outer coast northward was made in 1539. On the twenty-ninth of October of that year Francisco de Ulloa, who had been the energetic assistant of the great conquesitador in all his operations on the western coast of Mexico, sailed from the bay of Santa Cruz, the scene of Cortes' disastrous attempt at colonization in Lower California, and passed around the cape now known as "San Lucas." On the first of February he had proceeded as far north as 28°, when he encountered an island near the coast which he christened "Isle of Cedars." For two months he was baffled by head winds and contended with sickness among his crew, afflicted with that dread malady the scurvy, the scourge of the early mariners, who neither understood its nature nor knew how to prevent or cure

it. The sickness unabating and his stock of provisions beginning to run short, Ulloa abandoned the effort to progress further and returned to Mexico.

No immediate attempt was made to continue the explorations thus begun by Ulloa. The fact was that Don Antonio de Mendoza, a Spanish nobleman of high rank, who had succeeded Cortes as Viceroy of New Spain, was deeply interested in exploring the interior to the northward, in search of a mythical country called "Cibola," and another named "Quivira," stories of whose wonderful richness had been received from wandering refugees, who claimed to have seen them or been informed of their existence by the Indians. Two expeditions were sent out to accomplish this purpose. One under Fernando de Alarcon ascended the Colorado a distance of 300 miles without observing anything suggestive of civilized nations; while Francisco Vasquez de Caronado was equally unsuccessful in a land journey which took him as far north as 40° , and extended over two years of time.

Even before Coronado returned from following the *ignis fatuus* of Quivira, Mendoza dispatched an expedition by sea to search for the Straits of Anian, and incidentally to discover any of those civilized nations which Indian tradition and Caucasian imagination located further to the northwest. This fleet consisted of two small vessels, commanded by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, and sailed in the year 1542. Cabrillo followed the coast as far north as latitude 38° , when he encountered a violent storm which drove him many miles backward. From this he found shelter in a small harbor in the Island of San Bernardino, lying near the coast in latitude 34° , which he christened "Port Possession," being the first point on the California coast of which the Spaniards took possession. While the vessels were lying in this harbor, Cabrillo died, on the third of January, 1543, and the command devolved upon Bartolomé Ferrello, the pilot, as the second in power upon the Spanish vessels was designated at that time. This position was always occupied by an experienced seaman, as it frequently happened that the commander of the expedition was not a practical navigator; and this partially accounts for the fact that but little accurate knowledge was gained by Spanish explorers, who took but few observations and kept exceedingly poor records, so much so, in fact, that after half a dozen

voyages of exploration they were unable to trace the contour of the coast line upon the map with even an approach to accuracy.

Upon assuming command of the expedition, Ferrelo again headed the vessels to the northward. Near latitude 41° he discovered a prominent headland on a rocky and forbidding coast, which he named *Cabo de Fortunas*, the "Cape of Perils," and which is probably the one subsequently christened "Mendocino," in honor of the Mexican Viceroy, Mendoza, who had dispatched the expedition. On the first of March, 1543, Ferrelo reached the farthest point to the northward, which is given by some authorities as latitude 44° , and by others as 43° . Other historians, including Bancroft, do not accord him even so high a latitude as 43° . The conflict arises from the careless and meagre records above referred to. However, it makes but little difference, as he progressed as far as Rogue River, and possibly to the Umpqua, and can safely be credited with the discovery of Oregon, so far as sailing along its coast without making a landing, or even drawing a chart of its outline, may be considered to constitute a discovery. Lack of provisions and the ravages of the dreaded scurvy among his crew compelled Ferrelo to abandon the effort to proceed further and return to Mexico.

The return of Ferrelo without having discovered the mythical straits or the equally visionary cities and wealthy nations, reports of which had attracted the cupidity of the Spanish adventurers, following close upon Alarcon's fruitless voyage up the Colorado, and Coronado's wild-goose chase in search of Quivira, and combined with the report of the survivors of DeSoto's unfortunate expedition to the Mississippi, satisfied the Spanish authorities in the New World that neither wealthy nations nor navigable passages of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, were to be found north of Mexico, unless beyond the 40th parallel of latitude. With this conclusion they abandoned all effort to explore the country to the northward, and turned their attention to more remunerative ventures across the Pacific to the Indies.

By this time Portugal had established a large and immensely profitable commerce with the Indies, by following the long route around the Cape of Good Hope. Spain viewed this with jealous eye, notwithstanding the enormous revenue she was already receiv-

ing from her possessions in the New World, and put forth great exertions to secure a footing for herself in the Indies. Several unsuccessful expeditions were dispatched across the Pacific from Mexico, but, finally, in 1564, the Philippine Islands were subdued and taken possession of in the name of the Spanish monarch. In a few years an enormous revenue was derived from this new dependency. Her possessions in America formed not only an intermediate station as a basis of operations, but furnished, also, the gold and silver with which to purchase the silks, porcelain and spices of the Orient. No other nation possessed such facilities for commerce in the Pacific, and no flag but that of Spain fluttered in the trade winds that sweep steadily across that mighty ocean. Not a ship of war cruised on its broad expanse to guard the commerce from hostile fleets. Annually the galleons sailed from Mexico with gold and silver, and returned laden with the precious products of the East, which were transported across the isthmus to ships waiting to carry them to the mother country. The monarch of that powerful nation was the personification of arrogance. Over all lands even technically discovered by his subjects he claimed dominion and the exclusive right of trade, even if no settlement of any kind had been attempted. Foreigners of all nations were prohibited, under pain of death, from having any intercourse whatever with such territories, or from navigating the adjacent waters.

Spain was frequently involved in hostilities with her European neighbors, the great revenue derived from her possessions in the New World and her commerce with the Indies furnishing her the "sinews of war." Much as they desired it, her enemies were unable to attack her in this most vital part. Cargo after cargo crossed the Pacific and not a hostile sail was to be seen on the bosom of the ocean. On the Atlantic side, however, things wore a different aspect. Armed fleets were necessary to protect her merchantmen from the men of war sent out to cut them off in times of national disputes, and from the piratical crafts that infested the West Indies at all seasons. These "freebooters," or "buccanners," plied their piratical calling even in times of peace, with the full knowledge and even encouragement of their sovereigns. They sought diligently for the Northwest Passage. If they could only find some route into the Pacific other than the dangerous one by way of the Straits of Ma-

gellan, they could prey to their hearts' content upon the unprotected commerce of that ocean. They well knew the value of the cargoes carried in the unarmed galleons from the Philippines. At last, unable to find the Straits of Anian, they invaded the Pacific by the dreaded Straits of Magellan, and the security of Spanish shipping in the South Sea vanished forever.

The pioneer of this plundering band was Francis Drake, an English seaman of much renown, a daring spirit and expert mariner. With three vessels he thus passed into the Pacific upon a mission of plunder. One of these was wrecked soon after passing through the straits, another returned to England, while with his one remaining ship Drake sailed up the coast, scattering terror and devastation among the Spanish shipping, and levying contributions in the defenceless ports. The East India galleon, with its precious cargo, fell into his hands off the California coast, and then, with his vessel loaded with plunder, he sailed northward to search for the Straits of Anian, intending to pass through them into the Atlantic and thus reach England by a new route. By doing this he would avoid a combat with a Spanish fleet which he had every reason to expect would be lying in wait for him at the Straits of Magellan. He failed utterly to find any such passage, though how thoroughly he searched the coast is unknown; and even the extent of his voyage to the north is a matter of much dispute. By some authorities it is given as latitude 43°, and by others at 48°. To this latter opinion all English writers hold, while American historians favor the former, and the reason for adopting their separate opinions is not such an one as should actuate the true historian. If Drake did not proceed beyond latitude 43°, then he made no further progress north than did the Spaniard Ferrelo, thirty-five years before, and was not entitled to the honor of discovering any new region on the Pacific coast. In that event England's claim to Oregon, by right of discovery, was without foundation, since prior to any subsequent English voyage along the coast, several Spanish expeditions coasted its whole length as far as Alaska. If he reached latitude 48°, on the contrary, England's title by right of discovery was undeniable. Such being the case, and the Spanish title to Oregon having been acquired by the United States by purchase and treaty, the reason for the historians of the two countries espousing different sides,

without much reference to the truth of the matter, can be readily perceived.

Two accounts of the voyage were published, thus furnishing the foundation for the controversy, and neither of these narratives bears either internal or external evidence of complete reliability. There may well be a difference of opinion, but the fact that this difference is drawn on national lines is suggestive of bias and a lack of those qualities which mark the true historian. One of them was published by Richard Hakluyt, the celebrated geographer of those times, in a volume embodying the results of all previous voyages of exploration, and is said to be the production of Francis Pretty, one of Drake's crew; though English authors claim it to have been written by Hakluyt himself from accounts of the voyage related to him some time before, and thus subject to grievous errors. The other account is one which was published by a nephew of Drake, seventy years after the voyage was completed, and long after every soul who had participated in it had passed to his final account; thus there was no living witness who could dispute the wildest and most reckless statement the compiler might be led to make in his eagerness to establish his relative's position as discoverer of New Albion, the name Drake had bestowed upon California. The notes used in preparing this volume were credited to Rev. Fletcher, the chaplain of the expedition, and it must be said that in some respects he was the most magnificent liar that ever undertook to deceive an audience absolutely ignorant of the subject with which he dealt. The regions visited were entirely unknown, since no information was gained by Ferrelo's voyage, and the world was prepared to believe anything of this region, of which new wonders were constantly being revealed. Rev. Fletcher seems to have realized this, and improved his opportunity; yet the fact that his notes contain what are known to be willful misstatements, is not proof that in this one instance he was not correct, or that his notes were altered by the compiler to read 48° instead of 43° . This want of veracity is, of course, a presumption against his statement in this particular; but it will require something more authentic than the alleged narrative of Francis Pretty to establish their inaccuracy beyond dispute. When the whole matter is reviewed impartially, the mind naturally leans toward the theory of 43 degrees, without, however, feeling completely

satisfied that it is the true one. In the nature of things this controversy can never be settled, and Drake and Ferrelo will ever bear the divided honor of the discovery of Oregon.

Drake's presence on the coast of Oregon, near the forty-third parallel, is proven by Spanish records, which contain a piece of information not to be found in either of the narratives mentioned above. From this it appears that he had on board a Spanish pilot, named Morera, with whom he felt dissatisfied for some reason, and in the region indicated he ran into a "poor harbor" and put the offending seaman ashore, leaving him among savages, thirty-five hundred miles from civilization. That he accomplished the journey across that unknown land and reached his countrymen in Mexico is evidenced by the fact that the incident is recorded at all, since otherwise it could never have been known. Having been forced back along the coast by adverse winds, he entered a small bay near latitude 38°, where he cast anchor for thirty-six days. It was, until recent times, supposed that this harbor was San Francisco Bay, the name helping to support the idea with the unthinking. Later on it will be seen that the bay was thus named in honor of an entirely different personage. Sir Francis Drake was the reverse of a saint in Spanish eyes, and even had they named it in his honor they would have been certain to associate with his name some title more in harmony with their estimation of his character. Drake was in search of the Straits of Anian, and that he lay thirty-six days in San Francisco Bay without even attempting to explore the connecting bays of San Pablo and Suisun, and the great navigable rivers discharging into them, is so manifestly improbable as to be beyond credence. There is no positive testimony to support the idea, and the contrary is proven as nearly as purely negative testimony can prove anything. It is generally conceded by historians that Drake's harbor of refuge was the one lying just north of the Golden Gate and known as "Drake's Bay." It is in speaking of this place that Chaplain Fletcher displays his abilities as a romancer. The time was the month of June, and yet he states that snow covered the hills and that the weather was so cold that meat froze upon being taken from the fire. One familiar with the fact that snow is a rarity there even in winter, and that at no time does it become cold

enough to freeze meat that has never been near a fire, has his confidence in the veracity of the chronicler terribly shaken.

While lying in the harbor Drake landed and took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, christening it "New Albion," in honor of his native land. Fletcher's narrative states that the natives first mistook them for gods and offered sacrifices to them, and that they removed this impression by themselves publically offering up their devotions to the Creator. Of the incidents of their landing the narrative says:—

Our necessarie business being ended, our General, with his companie, travailed up into the countrey to their villiages, where we found heardees of deere by 1,000 in a companie, being most large and fat of bodie. We found the whole countrey to be a warren of strange kinde of connies; their bodies in bigness as be the Barbarie connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Want [mole] and the taile of a rat, being of great length; under her chinne on either side a bagge, into which she gathered her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people do eat their bodies, and make accompt for their skinnes, for their King's coat was made out of them. Our General called this countrey Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect to the white bankes and cliffes which lie toward the sea; and the other because it might have some affinitie with our countrey in name, which sometimes was so called.

There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not a *reasonable quantitie of gold or silver*. Before sailing away, our General set up a monument of our being there, as also of her majestie's right and title to the same, viz.: a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was engraved her majestie's name, the day and yeare of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her majestie's hands, together with her highness' picture and arms, in a piece of five pence of current English money under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our General.

What the worthy Chaplain considered a "reasonable quantitie" of the precious metals it is impossible to conjecture, but the probabilities are that he manufactured this statement from whole cloth. The earliest authentic accounts of the Indians of California do not speak of them as possessing any gold or silver, and it was many years after the Spaniards took possession of the State before gold was discovered and mined. At that time the natives were completely ignorant of the character and value of the substance, and had no traditions on the subject; from which may reasonably be concluded that Chaplain Fletcher deliberately lied when he made that assertion—the more so, that even to the present time no gold has been discovered in the locality of which he speaks. It will be remembered that a few years before, when America was first discovered, it was the general belief that it was speckled with gold

and silver, and glistened with gems. These extravagant ideas had become modified in Drake's time, though by no means abandoned. The Spaniards had been searching a few years before in this direction for wealthy nations, whose existence was reported to them by the Indians of Mexico, but without success. They still entertained the belief that pearls and the precious metals could be found in abundance in this region, and Fletcher was simply supplying a "long felt want" when he wrote that a "reasonable quantitie of gold and silver" existed in every handful of dirt that might be taken up at random on the California coast. His other statements are probably correct, since ground squirrels exist in such abundance there and are so destructive to crops that the state granted a bounty for their extermination, and the early pioneers speak of immense bands of antelope and elk that roamed the valley and foot-hills.

Having abandoned the hope of finding a passage into the Atlantic, and fearing to attempt to return by the Straits of Magellan, Drake undertook the long voyage across the Pacific, and reached England by weathering the Cape of Good Hope. His return with his vessel loaded with plundered riches of the Spaniards was hailed with joy by his countrymen. The interests of Spain and England were hostile. The latter looked with jealousy and fear upon the power of the Castilian throne, sustained by the enormous revenue derived from America and the Indies, and Queen Elizabeth knighted the daring robber for his services to his country in striking such a severe blow at the resources of her rival. Ten years later, when the grand Philip sent that wonderful Spanish Armada, which was fitted out by revenues derived from this same commerce and was to crush England at a blow, one of the gallant fleets which met and defeated it was commanded by Sir Francis Drake.

Other English freebooters, encouraged by the brilliant success of Drake, entered the Pacific in the same manner and preyed upon the Spanish shipping. The first and most successful of these was Thomas Cavendish, who voyaged the coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico in 1587; sunk and burned nineteen vessels, and captured the galleon *Santa Anna* off the coast of California. The next year he returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, having accomplished the third circumnavigation of the globe, and it is said that

his crew were dressed in silks, his sails made of damask, and the topmast covered with cloth of gold.

Great exertions were now made by the English and Dutch to find the Northwest Passage, and frequent rumors were spread that the Straits of Anian had actually been discovered, creating much joy in England and Holland, and causing great anxiety in Spain, Spanish America and the Philippines. Many claims were made to having made this discovery by parties who could not substantiate them. This was done for various reasons. Some enjoyed the notoriety and fame, as a great navigator, such reports brought them; others endeavored to secure a reward for their alleged services to their country, and still others hoped to thus win employment in their business, or receive the command of an expedition to locate definitely the position of the passage. So frequent were these tales, and so much at variance with each other, that they all fell into disrepute, and it is doubtful had such a strait been actually found if geographers could have been brought to believe it. The fiction of this character which attracted the most attention and which had the most influence in dictating the character of expeditions in after years, was one made by Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, a Portuguese. In 1609 this gentleman presented a petition to the Spanish Council of the Indies—that august body which, sitting in Spain, ruled the Spanish possessions in India and America—asking for a suitable reward for his services, and the command of a Spanish expedition to take possession of the straits and fortify them against the passage of ships of any other nation.

The voyage upon which Maldonado based his claim he asserted to have been made twenty-one years before, in 1588. By this time it was conceded that the distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the northern regions, was greater than it was formerly supposed to be, and this led Maldonado to locate the Straits of Anian far to the westward of those thus christened by Cortereal. This latter passage he placed as far north as latitude 75°, instead of 60°, their true location as given by Cortereal himself. His narrative asserted that the vessel passed through a long and tortuous channel in the seventy-fifth parallel, into the "North Sea," an entirely unknown body of water at that time, but which corresponds in location to the Arctic Ocean, which, however, has no such passage leading into it,

and which is utterly unnavigable by reason of its vast fields of ice. Across this North Sea he sailed in a southwesterly direction a distance of 790 leagues (about 3,000 miles), when he came upon the Straits of Anian, leading directly south into the South Sea. This wonderful passage he thus describes:—

Having cleared the Strait of Labrador, we began to descend from that latitude, steering west-southwest and southwest, three hundred and fifty leagues, to the 71st degree of latitude, when we perceived a high coast, without being able to tell whether it was part of the continent or an island; but we remarked that, if it were the continent, it must be opposite the coast of New Spain. From this land we directed our course west-southwest, four hundred and forty leagues, until we came to the 60th degree, in which parallel we discovered the Strait of Anian. * * *

The strait which we discovered in 60°, at the distance of one thousand seven hundred and ten leagues from Spain, appears, according to ancient tradition, to be that named by geographers, in their maps, the *Strait of Anian*; and, if it be so, it must be a strait having Asia on the one side, and America on the other, which seems to be the case, according to the following narrative:—"As soon as we had cleared the strait, we coasted along the shores of America for more than one hundred leagues southwestward, to the 55th degree of latitude, on which coast there were no inhabitants, or any opening indicating the vicinity of another strait, through which the South Sea, flowing into the North, might insulate that part: and we concluded that all that coast belonged to America, and that continuing along it, we might soon reach the Quivira and Cape Mendocino. We then left this coast and, sailing towards the west four days, we discovered a very high land, and continued along the coast, from which we kept at a safe distance, always in the open sea—sailing, at one time, to the northeast, at others towards the north-northeast, and again to the north, whence it seemed to us that the coast ran northeast and southwest.

"We were unable to mark any particular points, on account of our distance from land; and we can, therefore, only affirm that it is inhabited, nearly to the entrance of the strait, as we saw smoke rising up in many places. This country, according to the charts, must belong to Tartary, or Cathala (China), and at a distance of a few leagues from the coast must be the famed city of Cambula, the metropolis of Tartary. Finally, having followed the direction of this coast, we found ourselves at the entrance of the same Strait of Anian, which, fifteen days before, we had passed through to the open sea; this we knew to be the South Sea, where are situated Japan, China, the Mouluccas, India, New Guinea, and the land discovered by Captain Quiros, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru. * * *

"The Strait of Anian is fifteen leagues in length, and can easily be passed with a tide lasting six hours, for those tides are very rapid. There are, in this length, six turns, and two entrances, which lie north and south; that is, bear from each other north and south. The entrance on the north side (through which we passed) is less than half a quarter of a league in width, and on each side are ridges of high rocks; but the rock on the side of Asia is higher and steeper than on the other, and hangs over, so that nothing falling from the tops can reach its base. The entrance into the South Sea, near the harbor, is more than a quarter of a league in width, and thence the passage runs in an oblique direction, increasing the distance between the two coasts. In the middle of the strait, at the termination of the third turn, is a great rock, and an inlet, formed by a rugged rock, three *estadias* (about one thousand one hundred feet) in height, more or less; its form is round, and its diameter may be two hundred paces; its distance from the land of Asia is very little; but the

sea on that side is full of shoals and reefs, and can be only navigated by boats. The distance between this inlet and the continent of America is less than a quarter of a league in width, and, although its channel is so deep that two or even three ships sail abreast through it, two bastions might be built on the banks with little trouble, which would contract the channel to within the reach of a musket shot.

"In the harbor in which our ships anchored, at the entrance of the strait, on the south side, we lay from the beginning of April to the middle of June, when a large vessel of eight hundred tons burden came there from the South Sea, in order to pass the strait. Upon this we put ourselves on our guard; but, having come to an understanding with her, I found them willing to give us some of their merchandise, the greater part of which consisted of articles similar to those manufactured in China, such as brocades, silks, porcelain, feathers, precious stones, pearls, and gold. These people seemed to be Hanseatics, who inhabit the bay of St. Nicholas, or the port of St. Michael (Archangel, on the White Sea). In order to understand one another we were forced to speak Latin—those of our party who understood that language talking with those on board the ship who were also acquainted with it. They did not seem to be Catholics, but Lutherans. They said they came from a large city more than one hundred leagues from the strait, and though I can not exactly remember its name, I think they called it *Rohr*, or some such name, which they said had a good harbor and a navigable river, and was subject to the great khan, as it belonged to Tartary; and that in that port they left another ship belonging to their country. We could learn no more from them, as they acted with great caution and little confidence, being afraid of our company; wherefore we parted from them near the strait, in the North Sea, and set sail towards Spain."

It is barely possible that a voyage may have been made about the time mentioned in the memorial, during which the vessel entered Hudson's Bay, and that Maldonado was a seaman or sub-officer on board, which would account for his ignorance on such technical points as the degrees of latitude and number of miles sailed, and that two decades later, when his superior officers were dead and he himself had risen in rank, he desired the command of an expedition to search for these straits in whose existence he firmly believed, and which he claimed to have seen simply to lend weight to his petition. This, however, is improbable, and it is more than likely that the whole narrative was a fabrication. Diligent search among Spanish and Portuguese records of those times has failed to reveal any indication of such a voyage, or any confirmatory evidence whatever, other than the memorial itself. At that time (1588) Spain and England were absorbed in the conflict over the Spanish Armada, yet it is doubtful if that is a sufficient reason for the omission to record in any manner such a voyage as the one thus described by Maldonado.

The evidences against the genuineness of the narrative are almost convincing, even when considered without reference to the fact that

it is now evident no such passage exists. In his narrative, which was unusually precise and careful in its details, Maldonado gave all the geographical ideas of the time in regard to the regions that would naturally be visited; and this very fact is strongly presumptive evidence that the voyage was a fiction, as these theories, so carefully followed, have nearly all been found to be false. Even the minuteness of detail is suspicious, since it is chiefly the inaccurate records, clumsy narratives, and "yarns" flowing from the fertile imagination of the sea rovers, to which many of the erroneous, and even ludicrous, ideas of those times are directly chargeable. No such carefulness in statement characterized the narrative of any prior or contemporary voyage, and this was the first one claiming to have accomplished so much, which did not sadly mar the maps of theoretical geographers. Its ready-made appearance was sufficient to cause its entire rejection by the Council of the Indies.

In after years, however, two copies of this memorial, of the existence of which the world was ignorant, were found among ancient records at different places, each one purporting to be the original document. They created great excitement, and, as will be seen later, had much to do with the shaping of explorations for a century thereafter. As late as 1790, when the heated controversy over the Nootka affair seemed about to plunge England and Spain into war, the question of the authenticity of Maldonado's narrative was gravely discussed, and a last thorough search was made in Spain and Portugal for confirmative evidence, which was as fruitless as had been all previous efforts. With the end of that controversy Maldonado's mythical straits disappeared forever from the plane of active history and took its proper place in the domain of romance.

CHAPTER III.

THE STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA AND THE RIVER OF KINGS.

Narrative of Michael Lock, the Elder—Story of Juan de Fuca, as told by Lock—Description of the Straits of Fuca—Controversy among Historians over Fuca's alleged Voyage—Both Sides Carefully Considered—Probably a Myth—Admiral Fonte's alleged Voyage—The River of Kings—Its Absurdity Pointed Out.

THERE is still another somewhat mythical voyage associated with this search for the Straits of Anian, which has played a most important part in the history of Oregon; and though it comes entirely through English sources, is utterly repudiated by modern English historians, and even receives but little credence among American writers. This is the celebrated voyage of Juan de Fuca, who is claimed to have discovered the Straits of Fuca, that broad channel separating a portion of Washington Territory from Vancouver Island, in British Columbia.

There was published in London, in 1625, a celebrated historical and geographical work, edited by Samuel Purchas, which bore the odd title of "The Pilgrims." Among other things, this volume contained "A note by Michael Lock, the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the Northwest Passage of Meta Incognita." The most important portion of this alleged document of Mr. Lock is as follows:—

When I was in Venice, in April, 1596, haply arrived there an old man, about sixty years of age, called, commonly, Juan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolas Valerianus, of nation a Greek, born in Cephalonia, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships. This man, being come lately out of Spain, arrived first at Leghorn, and went thence to Florence, where he found one John Douglas, an Englishman, a famous mariner, ready coming from Venice, to be pilot of a Venetian ship for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And John Douglas being acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this

Greek pilot, and brought him to my speech; and in long talks and conference between us, in presence of John Douglas, this Greek pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, this much in effect as followeth: First, he said he had been in the West Indies of Spain forty years, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, in the service of the Spaniards. Also, he said that he was in the Spanish ship, which, in returning from the Islands Philippines, towards Nova Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California by Captain Candish, Englishman, whereby he lost 60,000 ducats of his goods. Also, he said that he was pilot of three small ships which the Viceroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with 100 men, under a captain, Spaniards, to discover the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South Sea, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were forced to pass through those straits into the South Sea; and that, by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from California to Nova Spania, without anything done in that voyage; and that, after their return, the captain was at Mexico punished by justice. Also, he said that, shortly after the said voyage was so ill-ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico sent him out again, in 1592, with a small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage for the discovery of the Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof into the sea, which they call the North Sea, which is our northwest sea; and that he followed his course, in that voyage, west and northwest in the South Sea, all along the coast of Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all which voyage he signified to me in a great map, and a sea-card of my own, which I laid before him), until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and that, there finding that the land trended north and northwest, with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometimes northwest, and northeast, and north, and also east and southeastward, and very much broader sea than was at the said entrance, and that he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and that, at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof, a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar, thereupon. Also, he said that he went on land in divers places, and that he saw some people on land clad in beasts' skins; and that the land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls, and other things, like Nova Spania. Also, he said that he being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the straits where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that, not being armed to resist the force of the savage people that might happen, he therefore set sail and returned homewards again towards Nova Spania, where he arrived at Acapulco, Anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded by the Viceroy for this service done in the said voyage. * * *

[Here follows an account of his vain endeavors for three years to secure a proper recognition of his services by the Viceroy or the Spanish monarch, and his resolution to return to his native land to die among his countrymen.] Also, he said he thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to be for that they understand very well that the English nation had now given over all their voyages for discovery of the northwest passage; wherefore, they need not fear them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his service therein any more. Also, he said that, understanding the noble mind of the Queen of England, and of her wars against the Spaniards, and hoping that her majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go into England and serve her majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the northwest passage into the South Sea, if she would furnish him

with only one ship of forty tons burden, and a pinnace, and that he would perform it in thirty days' time, from one end to the other of the strait, and he willed me so to write to England. And, from conference had twice with the said Greek pilot, I did write thereof, accordingly, to England, unto the right honorable the old Lord Treasurer Cecil, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt, that famous cosmographer, certifying them hereof. And I prayed them to disburse £100, to bring the said Greek pilot into England, with myself, for that my own purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answer that this action was well liked and greatly desired in England; but the money was not ready, and therefore this action died at that time, though the said Greek pilot, perchance, liveth still in his own country, in Cephalonia, towards which place he went within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice.

There is more of the document, detailing quite a correspondence between Lock and the Greek, from which it appears that the old pilot was alive in 1598, but that in 1602, when Lock had finished his business in Venice and was preparing to return to England, he addressed a letter to Fuca, to which he received no answer, and that a short time afterwards he learned that the Greek was dead.

There has been much controversy among historians as to the authenticity of this document. In the long negotiations between England and the United States in regard to the location of the international boundary line, it was vigorously supported by the Americans and as earnestly combated by the representatives of Great Britain. As in the discussion of Sir Francis Drake's voyage, writers were divided strictly upon national lines, and thus are subject to the charge of bias and prejudice. A fair examination will convince an impartial person that, although it is not impossible the voyage was made, the probabilities are that the letter of Mr. Lock was one composed for the purpose of creating a sensation, and no such personage as Juan de Fuca ever existed. The English writers seem to have espoused the better side of the argument, though there is no reason to suppose they would not have as readily advocated the opposite one had the interests of Great Britain required it. The question was long since settled and the boundary established at the forty-ninth parallel and the Straits of Fuca; and now, freed from national prejudice, American writers generally declare their belief that the voyage of the Greek pilot was a myth. Briefly presented, the arguments on either side are as follows:—

It is maintained by the supporters of the document that the statements therein contained are, many of them, known to be true; that in its geographical descriptions it is more accurate than the

report of any previous Spanish voyage; that the fact of his locating the entrance to the passage between latitudes 47 and 48 degrees, instead of 48 and 49 degrees, is not as serious as their opponents assert, since much greater errors in locating well-known objects appear in the accounts of voyages of whose authenticity there is no dispute. The Spaniards were not scientific navigators, and their reports bristle with errors in latitude, while longitude seems to have been entirely beyond them. This lack of accuracy prevented them from making a correct map of the coast line of California, even after they had explored it sailed along it for two centuries. There is, also, a marked absence of those stereotyped descriptions of wonderful cities and strange peoples which seems to have formed such an important part of the accounts of many previous and subsequent voyages. A careful comparison by one who is familiar with the geography of that region will convince him that in the narrative the Straits of Fuca are very accurately described—with the exception of the great rocky pillar on the northwest—especially in the fact that the land north of the straits (Vancouver Island) trends to the northwest. He sailed in the passage twenty days, finding numerous islands and arms of the ocean running in all directions, and finally emerged into the North Sea. What could more accurately describe a voyage through the Straits of Fuca and Gulf of Georgia, between Vancouver Island and the mainland, until the open ocean was again reached on the northwest? It is not claimed that he entered the Atlantic, but the North Sea of Maldonado; and it must be borne in mind that the Straits of Anian as then understood—that described by Maldonado—was a long passage, leading in a general north and south direction, connecting the South Sea with the supposed North Sea, and that to reach the Atlantic required a long voyage across this North Sea and through the Straits of Labrador. It must be admitted, then, that the descriptions given in Lock's account are wonderfully accurate if they are wholly imaginary; and as to the error in latitude—a matter of only a few miles—aside from the reasons already given, may it not be accounted for by the fact that the narrative is written from memory by a second party who had received but an oral account of the voyage?

The chief objection to the voyage is, that there is no confirmatory evidence whatever to support it. Neither the royal nor colonial

records of Spain contain the faintest allusion to it, although other voyages, and especially some made but a few years later, are recorded at length. The narrative of Lock was not given to the public until a quarter of a century had elapsed, and every one who might have had any personal knowledge of it was probably dead. Richard Hakluyt, one of the three gentlemen to whom it is said Lock wrote in relation to the matter from Venice, was one of the greatest men of his age. He was an enthusiastic geographer, who spent much time and money in collecting and publishing the accounts of all important voyages made by the representatives of England, or any other nation. It is impossible to believe that he could have been so indifferent to the subject of Lock's letter, since the Straits of Anian were the absorbing geographical enigma of the times, as to have let the matter of £100 prevent him from bringing the Greek pilot to England; and it is equally strange that no hint of such a voyage is given in any of his works, though he is admitted to have been the most thorough and correct geographer of the sixteenth century.

Another objection, and perhaps the strongest one, is the fact that at the very time Juan de Fuca is asserted to have been urging his claim for a reward upon the King of Spain, another Spanish expedition was dispatched in search of the Straits of Anian, and in the letter of instructions, which details at length the reasons for ordering the voyage, no allusion is made to Fuca or his straits. Had such a voyage as Fuca's actually been made, this second expedition would certainly have availed itself of the knowledge thus gained. Instead of doing so, the record of that voyage conclusively shows that the commander must have been utterly ignorant of Fuca and his alleged voyage; and this proves, also, that he could have had no secret instructions on the subject.

In viewing the matter critically, it must be admitted that the evidences against the authenticity of the voyage, though entirely of a negative character, greatly outweigh the one circumstantial evidence in its favor—the fact that a passage much similar to the one described actually exists a few miles to the north of the location fixed in the narrative. Juan de Fuca's voyage was probably a myth.

The third and last mythical passage to receive popular credence and engage the attention of geographers and explorers for years,

was the River of Kings, the Rio de los Reyes of Admiral Fonté. Like the narratives of Maldonado and Fuca, this did not reach the public until many years had elapsed from the time assigned to the voyage, and this fact alone is almost conclusive evidence of its manufactured character. Such a voyage as any of these would have been made public soon after its completion, so eager were the learned men of the time to gain all the information possible on these subjects. It was natural for a person inventing such a tale to assign a date so far back that he need have no fear of a personal contradiction.

A magazine entitled *Monthly Miscellany, or Memoires of the Curious*, was published in London in 1708, containing a long account of a voyage alleged to have been made in 1640, sixty-eight years previously, from the Pacific to the Atlantic and return, through a system of rivers crossing North America about the fifty-third parallel. The man who is credited with making this wonderful voyage is Admiral Pedro Bartolomé de Fonté, of the Spanish Marine. According to the account given in this magazine, Admiral Fonté was instructed by the Viceroy of Peru to explore the Pacific coast of North America for a passage leading into the Atlantic, and to intercept some Boston vessels which the Viceroy had learned had sailed upon the same errand on the Atlantic coast. He sailed from Callao in April, 1640, with four vessels. At Cape San Lucas he dispatched one of these to explore the Gulf of California, and with the remaining three continued up the coast. In latitude 53 degrees, after sailing a long distance among islands, which he christened the "Archipelago de Lazarus," he observed the mouth of a great river, which he decided to enter. One of his vessels was sent further up the coast, under the command of Captain Bernardo, while with the other two he ascended the stream, whose great proportions won from him the title of "Rio de los Reyes," or "River of Kings." This he followed in a northeasterly direction a long distance, finally reaching its source in an immense lake, which he named "Lake Belle." This was the country of a wealthy and civilized nation, whose chief town, on the south shore of the lake, was called Conasset, and who entertained the strangers who had so unexpectedly come among them in a most hospitable manner. This lake was evidently on the summit of the divide between the waters of the two oceans, for flowing from it in an opposite direction from the river he had

ascended was another large stream, which he called "Parmentier." Leaving his vessels at Conasset, he descended the Parmentier until he entered another lake, upon which he bestowed his own name, from which he passed through a narrow strait into the Atlantic ocean. This last passage he named "Strait of Ronquillo," in honor of the captain of one of his vessels. Thus, through a continuous waterway of rivers and lakes, he had passed through the entire continent of North America.

When that story was written the author little dreamed that in the latitude assigned to this wonderful passageway the continent was more than five thousand miles in width. Having entered the Atlantic the Admiral soon encountered the Boston vessel which it was feared had designs upon the Spanish possessions in the Pacific. The captain of the colonial craft was Nicholas Shapley, and on board was its owner, one Seymour Gibbons, whom Fonté described as "a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called Maltechusetts." Fonté decided to treat these strangers as peaceful traders, and the representatives of these two nations indulged in a series of mutual entertainments which appear to have given the Admiral great satisfaction. He then returned to the Pacific by the route he had come, finding his vessels waiting for him in good condition in Lake Belle, the inhabitants of Conasset having refrained from molesting them. At the mouth of the River of Kings he was joined by Bernardo, who had an equally wonderful tale to relate. He, too, had discovered a great river, in latitude 61 degrees, and had ascended it to its source in a large lake. These he called "Rio de Haro," and "Lake Velasco." From the lake he ascended another stream in canoes as high as the seventy-ninth parallel, but observing the land "still trending north, and the ice rested on the land, he became satisfied that there was no communication out of the Atlantic Sea by Davis' Straits; for the natives had conducted one of his seamen to the head of Davis' Strait, which terminated in a fresh lake, of about thirty miles in circumference, in the eightieth degree of north latitude, and there were prodigious mountains north of it." He, therefore, returned to the Pacific to rejoin his commander. Fonté was satisfied from the report that the Straits of Anian did not exist, and returned to Peru to report that fact,

and the wonderful river route he had discovered through the continent.

This whole story is utterly absurd, in the light of our present knowledge of geography, but was far from being so at the time it was promulgated. Yet it contains enough inconsistencies and palpable errors to have even then condemned it in the eyes of a critical reader. The statement that in 1640, only ten years after Boston was founded, the people of that struggling colony were searching for the Straits of Anian is too improbable for belief. This English historian should have known, also, that Massachusetts was governed at the date mentioned by John Winthrop and not by Seymour Gibbons, whose name does not appear at all in the list of New England governors or "major-generals." Not the slightest reference is made to it in the records of Spain or Peru, and it is now generally conceded that the story is a creation of James Petiver, an eminent naturalist, who was a frequent contributor to the magazine in which it first appeared.

CHAPTER IV.

VOYAGES AND EVENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Philip orders a Voyage along the Pacific Coast—Reasons Assigned by Torquemada and Venegas—Viscaino sent out by the Viceroy in 1596—Viscaino's second Voyage in 1602—Ravages of the Scoury—He Enters Monterey—Argument of the Claim that he Entered San Francisco Bay—Earliest Positive Knowledge of that Harbor—Viscaino goes to Latitude 42° and returns; but Aguilar reaches 43°—Cape Blanco and the River of Aguilar—California Supposed to be an Island—Viscaino dies after Obtaining a Royal Mandate to occupy Monterey—Spain Ceases all Exploration of the Coast.

AS the various romances which have been considered were all published many years after the date ascribed to the voyages of which they speak, it is now necessary to turn back to those times and see what was actually being accomplished. The first thing to be found affecting Oregon is the voyage of Sebastian Viscaino. It has been seen that at the very time when Juan de Fuca was importuning the Spanish monarch for recognition of his services, according to Lock's letter, that royal personage ordered a survey of the Pacific Coast. The reasons that moved Philip II., in 1595, to issue his royal mandate to the Mexican Viceroy are thus set forth by Torquemada:—

His majesty knew that the viceroys of Mexico had endeavored to discover a northern passage, and he had found, among his father's papers, a declaration of certain strangers, to the effect that they had been driven, by violent winds, from the codfish coast on the Atlantic, to the South Sea, through the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino, and had, on their way, seen a rich and populous city, well fortified, and inhabited by a numerous and civilized nation, who had treated them well; as also many other things worthy to be seen and known. His majesty had also been informed that ships, sailing from China to Mexico, ran great risks, particularly near Cape Mendocino, where the storms are most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so

that the ships, mostly belonging to his majesty, should find places for relief and refreshment when needed. Whereupon his majesty ordered the Count de Monterey, Viceroy of Mexico, to have those coasts surveyed, *at his own expense*, with all care and diligence.

Half a century later another Spanish historian, Venegas, gave the following reasons for Spain's anxiety to become better informed of the coast above Cape Mendocino:—

That in the meantime the English should find out the so-much-desired passage to the South Sea, by the north of America and above California, which passage is not universally denied, and one day may be found; that they may fortify themselves on both sides of this passage, and thus extend the English dominion from the north to the south of America, so as to border on our possessions. Should English colonies and garrisons be established along the coast of America on the South Sea beyond Cape Mendocino, or lower down on California itself, England would then, without control, reign mistress of the sea and its commerce, and be able to threaten by land and sea the territories of Spain; invade them on occasion from the E., W., N. and S., hem them in and press them on all sides.

In this is contained no hint of Juan de Fuca; and if the conduct of men can be considered as indicative of their motives, it must be admitted that the King, the Viceroy and the commanders of the various expeditions, were utterly ignorant of the Greek's alleged voyage, notwithstanding Lock's letter states that the old pilot had in vain urged the Viceroy and the King to take possession of the Straits of Fuca.

The Viceroy of Mexico did not feel an interest in the Straits of Anian, or the California Coast, deep enough to render him eager to explore them *at his own expense*, as commanded to do by the king; yet he dared not disobey the royal mandate. He made a showing of compliance, by dispatching Sebastian Viscaino from Acapulco, in the spring of 1596, with three vessels. These did not proceed beyond Lower California, where two feeble and unsuccessful efforts were made to plant colonies, leaving the great objects of the expedition untouched. The death of the king, in 1598, served as an excuse for ceasing even these feeble efforts, which made extensive drafts upon the Viceroy's revenue. The respite was only temporary, however, for Philip III. followed his father's ideas on the subject, and peremptorily ordered his representative in Mexico to make these explorations without delay.

There was nothing now to do but to comply with the King's command, and an expedition was fitted out, composed of two vessels and a small *fragata*, and entrusted to the command of Viscaino.

The fleet sailed May 5, 1602, from Acapulco, well supplied with pilots, draughtsmen and priests—the first to navigate the ships, the second to make maps of the coast, and the third to keep an accurate account of the voyage, a literary feat few besides priests were able to accomplish in those days, when the sword was mightier than the pen. The priestly authorship of the records of the voyage is fully attested by the passage in Torquemada, which, in speaking of the head winds which baffled the vessels for a long time, says that they were produced “by the foe of the human race, in order to prevent the advance of the ships, and to delay the discovery of these countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to the Catholic faith.”

As the fleet advanced scurvy made its appearance among the seamen, and its terrible ravages added to the adverse winds to convince the priests that the Evil One was doing his utmost to oppose their progress. In the face of all this the vessels steadily advanced northward, entering successively the ports of San Quentin, San Diego and Monterey. Sixteen of the crew having died and many others being utterly incapacitated for duty by the horrible malady, it was decided at Monterey to send one of the vessels back with the invalids. This ship was commanded by Torebio Gomes de Corvan, and reached Acapulco, with but few of her crew alive, after a voyage whose horrors have no parallel in the annals of the sea. On the third of January, 1603, the two remaining vessels sailed from Monterey, and were soon afterwards separated by a violent storm, and were not again united. Viscaino, in the larger one, instituted a search for the wreck of a Manila galleon, which had been cast away on this part of the coast eight years before. It was for a long time supposed that he entered San Francisco Harbor, since Torquemada says: “He anchored behind a point of rocks called *La Punta de los Reyes*, in the port of San Francisco;” but that idea does not seem consistent with other facts, and is not endorsed by the best authorities. It does not seem possible that an explorer could have passed the Golden Gate and entered the wonderful harbor of San Francisco without making such a record and description of it as would leave no room for error. As in the case of Drake, Viscaino was engaged in the search for something, which, upon entering this beautiful bay, he would have congratulated himself upon discovering; and he certainly would have taken as much pains to describe it

as he did other and comparatively insignificant places. Viscaino was searching for a harbor of refuge, and here, in the most desirable locality possible, was a magnificent harbor that could hold the fleets of the world; yet upon his return to Mexico he strongly urged the Viceroy to establish stations at the greatly inferior harbors of San Diego and Monterey, and said nothing about San Francisco whatever. In all probability the port he entered was the same one in which Drake had anchored twenty-five years before.

Just when San Francisco Bay was discovered is uncertain. The first time Caucasians are known to have visited it was in 1769, when a party of Spaniards unexpectedly came upon it while searching for the Bay of Monterey, and gave it the name it bears. Yet it is almost a matter of certainty that some one must have visited it long before, for in 1742 an English commodore, named Anson, captured an East Indian galleon, and upon a chart found on the vessel appeared, in the latitude of this bay, seven little dots, marked "Le Farallones," and opposite these was indicated a land-locked harbor somewhat resembling San Francisco Bay, but having no name attached. It seems probable that the existence of the bay was known to those engaged in the India trade, who kept it a profound secret, and could thus profit by all its advantages as a harbor of refuge, without permitting it to become a rendezvous for the pirates who preyed upon their commerce, or a station for the war ships of hostile nations.

On the twentieth of January, Viscaino, having been unsuccessful in his search for the wrecked galleon, again sailed northward. He proceeded as far as latitude 42°, where he observed a large white bluff, upon which he bestowed the title of "San Sebastian." Discouraged by the unfavorable weather, the terrible sufferings of his crew from scurvy and the apparent loss of the consort, Viscaino turned the prow of the *Capitana* to the south, and made his way back to Mexico as rapidly as possible. When the storm parted the two vessels off San Francisco Bay, the little *fragata*, which was under the command of Martin de Aguilar, continued the northern journey, encountering another gale in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, from whose fury it escaped by taking refuge in some sheltered place on that portion of the coast. What this place of refuge was does not appear, but Humboldt Bay and the Bay of Trinidad seem

to be the only ports in that region capable of sheltering a vessel from a severe storm, and one of these must have been entered by the *fragata*; though, if such is the case, it seems strange that a more extended description of it is not given. The subsequent movements of the little craft are thus detailed by Torquemada:—

When the wind had become less violent they continued their journey close along the shore, and on the nineteenth of January, the pilot, Antonio Flores, found that they were in the latitude of 43°, where the land formed a cape or point, which was named "Cape Blanco." From that point the coast begins to turn to the northwest, and near it was discovered a rapid and abundant river, with ash trees, willows, brambles, and other trees of Castile and its banks, which they endeavored to enter, but could not from the force of the current. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, the commander, and Antonio Flores, the pilot, seeing that they had already reached a higher latitude than was ordered by the Viceroy in his instructions, that the *Capitana* did not appear, and that the number of sick was great, agreed to return to Acapulco.

They never performed their agreement, for when the *fragata* reached Acapulco both the commander and pilot, as well as the greater portion of the crew, had fallen victims to the scurvy and had been consigned to the bosom of the great unknown ocean.

It is impossible to realize the dreadful ravages committed by that horrible disease among the explorers of those early times. Every prolonged voyage suffered the impress of its blighting finger. Death took passage in every vessel sent into unknown waters. English mariners seem to have suffered less than did the Spaniards, or, in later times, the Russians. Of the sufferings on board of Aguilar's fated craft Torquemada says:—

Nor is the least ease to be expected from change of place, as the slightest motion is attended with such severe pains that they must be very fond of life who would not willingly lay it down on the first appearance of so terrible a distemper. This virulent humor makes such ravages in the body that it is entirely covered with ulcers, and the poor patients are unable to bear the least pressure; even the very clothes laid on them deprive them of life. Thus they lie groaning and incapable of any relief. For the greatest assistance possible to be given them, if I may be allowed the expression, is not to touch them, nor even the bed clothes. These effects, however melancholy, are not the only ones produced by this pestilential humor. In many, the gums, both of the upper and lower jaws, are pressed both within and without to such a degree, that the teeth can not touch one another, and withal so loose and bare that they shake with the least motion of the head, and some of the patients spit their teeth out with their saliva. Thus they were unable to receive any food but liquid, as gruel, broth, milk of almonds and the like. This gradually brought on so great a weakness that they died while talking to their friends. * *

* Some, by way of ease, made loud complaints, others lamented their sins with the deepest contrition, some died talking, some sleeping, some eating, some whilst sitting up in their beds.

Such were the privations and afflictions endured by the early explorers of the coast of Oregon.

A fourth geographical enigma was now added to the list of those which perplexed the seekers for a Northwest Passage; though, more properly speaking, this was the first, since knowledge of this voyage was spread abroad several years before Maldonado entertained the Council of the Indies with his clever romance about the Straits of Anian, or Lock's letter gave to the world the dubious tale of Juan de Fuca. According to Torquemada, it was "supposed that this river is one leading to a great city which was discovered by the Dutch when they were driven thither by storms, and that it is the Straits of Anian through which the ship passed in sailing from the North Sea to the South Sea, and that the city called Quivira (the one which led Coronado such a dance sixty years before) is in those parts; and that this higher latitude is the region referred to in the account which his majesty read, and which induced him to order this expedition." There is here a serious discrepancy—an error of as great a magnitude as the one cited as evidence of the mythical character of the alleged voyage of Juan de Fuca. No great river exists in latitude 43°, but a short distance up the coast is the Umpqua, which, though by no means as great a stream as this one was supposed to be, may be considered of sufficient proportions to duty as the River of Aguilar. The same may be said of Rogue River, some miles below the point indicated. One can not help noticing here the foundation of the "River of Kings" story afterwards concocted by Petiver. The great river supposed to lead through the continent, and the large city some distance up the stream, both appear here in the original. The idea that this was the Straits of Anian, or anything of a similar nature, did not long obtain. A few years later it was conceived that this and the Colorado rivers were the two ends of a long inland channel, which united in such a manner as to make California an island. This theory found a place upon the maps for a short time, till it was discovered that the Colorado led off to the northeastward instead of toward the northwest. It was then supposed that this was a vast river flowing from unknown regions in the heart of the continent, such a stream as the Columbia was in later years found to be, and maps thereafter bore upon them an indication of such a river, bearing the name "River

of Aguilar," and various other titles, which, with the reason for bestowing them, will appear later on in speaking of the journey of the early explorers of the Rocky Mountains.

Viscaino had kept in view the chief object of his voyage—the discovery of a suitable harbor of refuge for vessels in the Manila trade—and immediately upon his return urged upon the Viceroy the desirability of establishing supply stations at San Diego and Monterey, the only suitable harbors he had encountered. He reported that diligent inquiry among the nations had elicited the information that California was extremely fertile and rich in the precious metals. There was one serious objection to so doing, which had great weight with the Viceroy. He had been instructed in the royal decree to accomplish these things at his own expense, and he was much averse to devoting his private revenues, which were, no doubt, very considerable, to the accomplishment of public measures. In vain Viscaino urged, the Viceroy was obdurate, and, at last, the explorer went to Spain to lay the matter before his sovereign. After several years of attendance at court he succeeded, in 1606, in procuring a royal mandate to the Viceroy, directing him to establish a supply station at Monterey. While preparations for doing so were advancing Viscaino died, and the Viceroy seized the opportunity to defeat the projected colony. For a century and one-half thereafter Spain made no further attempt to explore the coast north of California. The East India vessels first sighted land on their home voyage in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, and then followed the coast south to Mexico; but north of that the Pacific Coast of North America remained a *terra incognita* for ages. The secret of this apparent apathy was the unwillingness of the viceroy to explore new regions at their own expense. There is a tradition floating about in Southern Oregon that one of these galleons was driven out of its course and put into the Umpqua River to repair damages. Indian traditions and the old stumps of trees are relied upon as corroborative evidence; thought what the original authority is, or in what year the event is said to have occurred, the writer has been unable to learn. The story is probably an outgrowth of the attempt of Aguilar to enter some river in that region.

CHAPTER V.

HUDSON'S BAY, CAPE HORN, AND BEHRING'S STRAITS.

Discovery of Davis' Straits—Henry Hudson, William Baffin, and other Explorers in the North-Atlantic—Dutch Navigators Discover the Passage around Cape Horn—Buccaneers Swarm into the Pacific by the New Route—Otondo attempts to Colonize Lower California—The Hudson's Bay Company Chartered, in 1669, to Discover the Straits of Anian—Privileges Granted by the Charter—The Company Heads off all Efforts at Exploration—Russians cross Siberia and Explore the Pacific—Plans of Peter the Great—Discovery of Behring's Straits and Alaska—Voyage of Tchirikof—Behring Discovers Mount St. Elias and Dies on Behring's Isle—The Early Fur Trade of the North Pacific—Benzowsky Takes a Cargo of Furs to Canton and thus Reveals the Magnitude of the Pacific Ocean—Russian Idea of Alaskan Geography.

SEVERAL important voyages were made by English mariners on the Atlantic coast in searching for the Northwest Passage, all of which bear a close relation to the more direct steps taken on the Pacific side in the discovery of Oregon. In 1588, at the time set in Maldonado's romance for his voyage through the Straits of Anian, a celebrated English navigator was actually exploring the seas about the seventy-fifth parallel. This was John Davis. After searching in vain for a passage westward, he finally discovered Davis' Straits, but was compelled to return to England before making a thorough exploration of them, leaving in doubt the question of whether through them, or by some body of water connecting with them, the Pacific might not be reached. About the same time the great freebooter, Thomas Cavendish, returned with his vessel laden with the plunder of the South Sea, and Davis, dazzled by the glittering prospect of great wealth to be gained by plundering the Spanish commerce,

abandoned his search for the Northwest Passage and sailed with Cavendish upon his second expedition to the Pacific, a voyage which ended in signal disaster.

In 1608, Henry Hudson, bent upon the same errand as Davis, explored the North Atlantic coast. He entered Hudson's Bay and partially examined it; and though he bestowed his name upon the bay, as well as the straits leading to it, he was but following the course pursued a century before by Cortereal. William Baffin was the next noted mariner to navigate these seas. In 1616 he sailed north, between America and Greenland, into Baffin's Bay. Other explorers followed in the wake of these more noted ones, and examined the coast carefully as high as the seventy-fifth parallel. It was of no use; the Straits of Anian could not be found. Geographers became satisfied that if discovered at all they would be found leading westward from some arm of Hudson's Bay which had been but partially explored. England soon became convulsed by civil war between the people and the House of Stuart, and America was neglected for half a century. Meanwhile, an important discovery was made in an opposite direction, one most disastrous to the Pacific commerce of Spain.

While Baffin was pursuing his search among the icebergs and floes of the Arctic, two Dutch navigators, Van S. houten and Le-maire, passed south of the Straits of Magellan and discovered the open sea connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. They rounded Cape Horn, which they thus christened—in memory of the place of their nativity, "Holland"—and entered the South Sea without encountering the dangers attending a passage through the Straits of Magellan, or meeting the Spanish ships of war which guarded the entrance to that narrow passageway. Here, now, was a route open to all nations—one which Spain could neither monopolize nor defend. Spain continually involved in European wars, was now exposed to attack in her most vital part. From America and the Indies came the revenue with which she now made war upon England and France, oppressed the Netherlands and sustained the terrible Inquisition. Privateers of the three hostile nations swarmed into the South Sea and plundered her commerce. Buccaneers attacked the Spanish possessions in America from both the Atlantic and Pacific sides. Especially did the Dutch aid in this way the desperate struggle of the Nether-

lands for Independence from Spanish rule. The Gulf of California became their rallying place, their special rendezvous being the Bay of Pichilingue, which won for them the title of "Pichilingues," a name both feared and hated by the mariners of Spain. From this retreat they issued to commit their ravages, and often returned with the rich prize of a Manila galleon. The feeble efforts of Spain to dislodge these bold marauders, who were literally drawing the life blood of the nation, were of no avail. Several times she made great preparations to exterminate them, but even if driven out they returned again in greater numbers as soon as the way was open. Finally, in 1683, an effort was made to plant a colony in Lower California, which should serve as a basis for keeping the gulf free from pirates, and of rescuing from threatened attack the annual galleon. Admiral Don Isidro de Otondo was at the head of this expedition, which consisted of soldiers, settlers and Jesuit priests. For three years the effort was sustained in the face of drouth and sterile soil, and then the colony was abandoned; the last act being to rescue and convey safely to port the Manila galleon, whose safety was threatened by the dreaded privateers.

When the long fratricidal war in England was over and the son of the murdered king was set upon the throne, attention was once more directed toward America. The belief that the Straits of Anian could be found only in Hudson's Bay was then a general one, and to aid in its discovery, in 1669, Charles the II. granted almost royal privileges in America to a company of his subjects. Such were the relative importance in those days of the rich commerce of the Indies and the Arctic wilds of unexplored America. Reports of the valuable furs to be obtained from the natives along the coast which were made by the old explorers, and the hope that other and even more valuable articles could be obtained in trade with the Indians, led to the organization of a company to engage in that profitable business. They applied to the King for a royal charter, which was granted in consideration of their agreement to search for the much-desired Straits of Anian. The two-fold object—that of the King and that of the company—was expressed in the charter which created "The Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay." This object, as expressed, was "for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the find-

ing of some trade in furs, minerals and other considerable commodities." The company was granted the exclusive right of the "trade and commerce of all those seas, straits and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits." Of this region, which embraced all that vast territory whose water shed is into Hudson's Bay, this company was given absolute control to the exclusion of all persons whomsoever. It was constituted "for all time hereafter, capable in law, to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy and retain lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdiction, franchise and hereditaments of what kind, nature or quality soever they be, to them and their successors;" and all persons were forbidden to "visit, hunt, frequent, trade, traffic or adventure" therein without permission of the company. The annual rent of this great empire was "two elks and two black beavers," which the King, if he desired to have it paid, must go upon the land and collect for himself. The company has few rent receipts to exhibit. This is the organization known in history as the Hudson's Bay Company, a name vivid in the memory of Oregon pioneers. What a splendid thing this charter was to the company, and what an obstacle it became in the pathway of England's progress in America, will appear as this narrative unfolds. But for the selfish policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, Oregon would to-day be a province of Great Britain.

The company soon learned that their true interests lay, not in finding the Northwest Passage, but in preventing the discovery of it altogether. They were able to accomplish this and to hold the government and every one else not connected with the organization in complete ignorance of the region in which they were doing a business which assumed gigantic proportions in a few years. Thus it happened that no more efforts of consequence were made by England to discover the Straits of Anian for a whole century after the granting of this magnificent charter, the company being able to prevent or bring to grief all expeditions of this character. Such was the soulless conduct of this corporate monopoly to the government to which it owed its very existence.

From the time Aguilar's little vessel conveyed her afflicted crew back to Mexico in 1603, more than a century passed before another

voyage was attempted. Not a vessel cast its shadow upon the waters of the North Pacific, nor a Caucasian eye gazed upon the mountain peaks that stand like ancient sentinels along our coast. Suddenly interest in this region was revived, and initial steps were taken by a power previously supposed to have no interest whatever in the American question. The sudden rise of Russia from oblivion to a high rank among the powers of the world, a revolution wrought by the genius of the enlightened monarch, Peter the Great, is one of the marvels of history. Gradually he extended his power eastward across the snowy wastes of Siberia until his dominions were washed by the waters of the Pacific beating upon the Peninsula of Kamtchatka. The fur trade of this vast solitude became a valuable one, and added to the great revenue of the Czar. Having reached the Pacific he became eager to extend his power still further eastward until it touched the western confines of the dependencies of England, France and Spain in America. How far that was, or what was the nature of the region coveted, neither he nor any one else had the faintest glimmering of knowledge. It might be a great ocean of valueless water, a sea filled with islands, a continent of ice, or a land of plenty, "flowing with milk and honey." No one knew; but this powerful autocrat proposed to find out. His first step was to discover a waterway into the Pacific from the Arctic Ocean which washed his dominions on the north—just such a passage as the English mariners had searched for in vain, though he expected to reach it by going east instead of to the west. He ordered vessels to be constructed at Archangel, on the White Sea, for the purpose of coasting in the Arctic eastward along the shores of Siberia until an opening was discovered into the Pacific. Other vessels were to be constructed on the coast of Kamtchatka, which were to take an opposite course and endeavor to pass northward into the Arctic. Peter died before his plans were executed, and the project was held in abeyance for several years.

The Empress Catherine was a worthy successor of her noble husband, and when firmly settled upon the throne she turned her attention to completing the work he had begun. In 1728, in accordance with her instructions, vessels were built on the coast of Kamtchatka, which were dispatched in search of the desired passage between the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific. In command of

the expedition was Vitus Behring, a Danish navigator of skill and experience, in whose charge the former exploration was to have been placed by Peter. Russia was not a maritime nation, and her seamen were in no manner scientific navigators, hence the selection of this skillful Dane for the command of so important an expedition. Behring sailed on the fourteenth of July, and followed the coast northerly in his little vessel until he found it trending steadily to the westward. From this fact he became convinced that he had already entered the Arctic and was sailing along the northern coast of Asia; and being unprepared for a long voyage, or the possibility of being compelled to spend the winter in the ice, he returned at once to the port of embarkation. The highest point reached was $67^{\circ} 18'$ but the longitude is not given. Neither going nor returning through the straits did he espy the coast line of America, foggy and cloudy weather obscuring it from view, and consequently he reported upon his return that a great open sea lay to the eastward of Asia, joining the Pacific Ocean with the Arctic. The next year he endeavored to cross this ocean and reach the shore of America by sailing directly eastward. In this attempt he was baffled by head winds and was driven by a gale into the Gulf of Okotsk. He abandoned the effort and returned to St. Petersburg to report his discoveries. During the few succeeding years a number of smaller expeditions were made by Russian subjects; one of these being driven upon the Alaskan coast in 1732, when it was discovered that not an open sea but a strait connected the two great oceans. Upon this was bestowed the name of the Danish explorer—the pioneer navigator of the North Pacific.

Catherine died, and after the consequent delay, her successor, the Empress Anne, fitted out an expedition for the purpose of exploring on a more extended scale than had previously been done. This consisted of two vessels, Behring being in command of one, and Alexei Tchirikof, a Russian, who had been his lieutenant on the first voyage, of the other. Anne died before the expedition was ready to sail, but Elizabeth, who succeeded to the throne, did not interfere with the plans which had been laid, and the two consorts sailed from the Bay of Avatscha on the fourth of June, 1741. They were soon separated in a gale and were not again united. Tchirikof's vessel, the *St. Paul*, returned on the eighth of October, in a sad

plight. She had reached a group of islands in latitude 56°, where sixteen of the crew, who landed to make a reconnoissance, were slaughtered by the Indians. Besides these, twenty-one more succumbed to the ravages of the scurvy before the vessel found her way back to port.

Sad as were the misfortunes that befel the crew of the *St. Paul*, they were slight compared with the disasters which crowded upon their comrades on board the *St. Peter*. Behring steered a southeasterly course for many days, and at last reached latitude 46°, without having encountered land. This is the latitude of the Columbia River, but how near the coast of America he approached at that point is not recorded. The mysteries of longitude seem to have been beyond the penetration of the explorers of those days. Captain Cook, nearly fifty years later, is the first explorer who seems to have understood the necessity of locating an object by its longitude as well as its distance from the equator. Behring then turned his prow to the northeast and continued his voyage until he had ascended to the sixtieth degree, when he discovered land, the first thing to meet his gaze being a giant snow-crowned peak. This he named "Mount St. Elias," in honor of the saint whose name appeared in the Russian calendar as patron of the eighteenth of July, the date of the discovery. The *St. Peter* sailed into a passage leading between the mainland and a large island, when Behring discovered that the water was discolored, as though it had been discharged from a large river, the volume indicating the stream to be the water drain of a land of continental proportions. That this was America no one on board doubted. The subordinate officers desired to explore the coast southward, in the direction of the Spanish colonies, but Behring, who was in ill health, refused to do so, and started upon the return voyage. They made but slow progress among the islands lying to the southwest of the Peninsula of Alaska, and finally, being driven by a severe storm far to the southward, the vessel wandered aimlessly about for two months, the sport of the winds and ocean currents. Horrible were the sufferings of the crew. Scurvy, in its most ghastly form, preyed upon them unchecked. Famine and disease went hand in hand. The surgeon's journal says: "The general distress and mortality increased so fast that not only the sick died, but those who pretended to be healthy, when relieved from their posts, fainted

and fell down dead; of which the scantiness of water, the want of biscuits and brandy, cold, wet, nakedness, vermin, and terror, were not the least causes." At last these horrors came to an end. On the fifth of November they sighted a small island lying between the Aleutian Archipelago and Kamtchatka, and running the vessel close in they all landed, with the purpose of spending the winter. The island was a small, rocky speck on the bosom of the sea, consisting of a few barren granite peaks thrust up from the water, whose sides were continually lashed by a heavy surf and upon which the waves furiously dashed when storms swept across the surface of the ocean. Here they lived upon the flesh of fur-bearing animals which abounded in the water, and upon the fish they were able to catch. Their house was constructed of the timbers of their vessel, which was wrecked upon the rocky coast during a gale immediately after they disembarked, and whose broken pieces were washed up by the surf. Their sufferings did not end with their removal to this new abode. Disease had taken too firm a grasp upon that afflicted crew. Behring died on the eighth of December, and before spring thirty of his followers also found a grave on those water-bound rocks. The skins of slaughtered animals served them for both clothes and bedding. Had this island been located at the same latitude in the Atlantic Ocean not one of these enfeebled men could have survived the rigors of winter. Here the great ocean river, known as the Japan Current, imparts its genial warmth to the islands of the Aleutian Archipelago and fringes the icy peaks and glaciers of Alaska with a coast-line of verdure. Owing to this great modifying element even floating ice from the frozen Arctic is not seen in Behring's Sea, though on the Atlantic side the ocean is rendered unsafe by floes and icebergs at a much lower latitude. Upon the return of spring the survivors constructed a small vessel from the wreck of the *St. Peter*, and when that long task was finished, embarked and sailed directly westward, reaching the Bay of Avatscha in August. That bleak island which had been their winter home, and where were the graves of their commander and many of their comrades, they christened "Behring's Isle," and as such it is known to the present day.

Twenty years elapsed before another official exploration was made, and half a century passed ere the full account of this fatal

one was published to the world. Accompanying Behring on the *St. Peter* was a German surgeon and scientist named Steller, and his journal, which was not published until 1795, long after the Alaskan coast had been thoroughly explored by Spanish, Russian, English and American navigators, is the only record preserved of the adventures and terrible sufferings endured by the discoverers of Alaska. The general features of the voyage, however, were well known in Europe soon after its fatal termination. The skins which the survivors wore when they returned to Avatscha were found to be exceedingly valuable—probably seal and sea-otter—and several private expeditions were fitted out by Russian traders, to visit the islands lying to the eastward, in search of furs. In this way the fur trade of the Pacific began, and before the government was prepared for another expedition this trade had reached considerable proportions. Greenhow thus describes the infancy of this great industry:—

The trade thus commenced was, for a time, carried on by individual adventurers, each of whom was alternately a seaman, a hunter, and a merchant; at length, however, some capitalists in Siberia employed their funds in the pursuit, and expeditions to the islands were, in consequence, made on a more extensive scale, and with greater regularity and efficiency. Trading stations were established at particular points, where the furs were collected by persons left for that object; and vessels were sent, at stated periods, from the ports of Asiatic Russia, to carry the articles required for the use of the agents and hunters, or for barter with the natives, and to bring away the skins collected.

The vessels employed in this commerce were, in all respects, wretched and insecure, *the planks being merely attached together, without iron, by leathern thongs*; and, as no instruments were used by the traders for determining latitudes and longitudes at sea, their ideas of the relative positions of the places which they visited were vague and incorrect. Their navigation was, indeed, performed in the most simple and unscientific manner possible. A vessel sailing from the Bay of Avatscha, or from Cape Lopatka, the southern extremity of Kamtehatka, could not have gone far eastward, without falling in with one of the Aleutian islands, which would serve as a mark for her course to another; and thus she might go on from point to point throughout the whole chain. In like manner she would return to Asia, and if her course and rate of sailing were observed with tolerable care, there could seldom be any uncertainty as to whether she were north or south of the line of the islands. Many vessels were, nevertheless, annually lost, in consequence of this want of knowledge of the coast, and want of means to ascertain positions at sea; and a large number of those engaged in the trade, moreover, fell victims to cold, starvation and scurvy, and to the enmity of the bold natives of the islands. Even as late as 1806, it was calculated that one-third of these vessels were lost in each year. The history of the Russian trade and establishments in the North Pacific, is a series of details of dreadful disasters and sufferings; and, whatever opinion may be entertained as to the humanity of the adventurers, or the morality of their pro-

ceedings, the courage and perseverance displayed by them, in struggling against such appalling difficulties, must command universal admiration.

The furs collected by these means, at Avatscha and Ochotsk, the principal fur-trading points, were carried to Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, whence some of them were taken to Europe; the greater portion were, however, sent to Kiakta, a small town just within the Russian frontier, close to the Chinese town of Maimatchin, through which places all the commerce between these two empires passed, agreeably to a treaty concluded at Kiakta in 1728. In return for the furs, which brought higher prices in China than anywhere else, teas, tobacco, rice, porcelain, and silk and cotton goods, were brought to Irkutsk, where all the most valuable of these articles were sent to Europe. These transportations were effected by land, except in some places where the rivers were used as the channel of conveyance, no commercial exportation having been made from Eastern Russia by sea before 1779; and when the immense distances between some of the points above mentioned are considered (Irkutsk to Peking, 1,300 miles; to Bay of Avatscha, 3,450 miles; to St. Petersburg, 3,760 miles), it becomes evident that none but objects of great value, in comparison with their bulk, at the place of their consumption, could have been thus transported with profit to those engaged in the trade, and that a large portion of the price paid by the consumer must have been absorbed by the expense of transportation. A skin was, in fact, worth at Kiakta three times as much as it cost at Ochotsk.

For years the furs were conveyed to Peking and St. Petersburg overland, as described above, China being then, as now, the general fur market of the world. Not until 1771 was a cargo taken directly by sea to Canton, and not until then was it known that the Bay of Avatscha and the Chinese Sea were connected by water. For the first time was realized the immense magnitude of the Pacific; that the same waters which beat upon Behring's Isle washed the shores of the thousand islands of the South Sea, gazed up at the frowning rocks of Cape Horn, and bore the Spanish galleons on their long voyage from Acapulco to the Indies. This innovation was not by any means the result of Russian enterprise. A few of the patriotic defenders of Poland, who had been exiled to Siberia by the Russian Czar, made their escape in a small vessel from a port on the southwest coast of Kamtschatka, under the leadership of a Hungarian exile, Count Maurice de Benyowsky. After much aimless wandering among the Aleutian Islands, where they procured from the natives a large quantity of furs, they sailed southward and finally reached Canton, where their cargo found a good market. This was the first vessel from the Russian Possessions of the Pacific to enter the harbor of a foreign nation, and the spreading of the information that rich fur regions at the north were accessible to Canton by sea was one of the greatest factors in the subsequent rapid growth of the fur trade.

The increasing value of the fur business led the Russian Government to dispatch other exploring expeditions in 1766 and 1769. They found the coast, wherever they reached the mainland at all, fringed with islands and the sea through which they passed dotted with them. That the land on the east side of Behring's Straits was of considerable proportions was evident. This they called "Alaska," or "Aliaska," and supposed it to be a large island. In 1774 a map was prepared, representing their ideas of the geography of Russian America. Upon this the coast of America was represented as running northwesterly from California to the seventieth degree of latitude, which was its extreme northern and western limit. Lying between America and Asia, in that latitude, was a vast sea of islands, of which the largest was Alaska, with only the channel of Behring's Straits separating it from the coast of Asia. With this map was published an account of the last two voyages, the book being entitled "Description of the Newly Discovered Islands in the Sea between Asia and America." Such was the Russian idea of a region in which four official explorations had been made, and private enterprise had engaged in the fur trade for thirty years. It remained for an Englishman, the celebrated Captain Cook, only a few years later, to reveal to them their error. He commanded the first English vessel to visit the North Pacific, and in one voyage straightened out the geographical tangle the Russians had made in Alaska, and reformed the ideas the Spaniards entertained about the coast they had several times explored further to the south. Such was the difference between scientific navigation and haphazard sailing.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM CAPTAIN CARVER TO CAPTAIN COOK.

The Jesuits Colonize Lower California—The Franciscans Enter California—Discovery of San Francisco Bay—Early French Explorers—The River of the West—Verendrye Explores the Rocky Mountains—France Sells Louisiana to Spain and Looses Canada to England by Conquest—Journey of Captain Carver—He calls the River of the West "Oregon"—Argument upon the Origin of the Word "Oregon"—The Generally Accepted Spanish Theory does not Stand the Light of Investigation—The Hudson's Bay Company's Policy of Keeping the World Ignorant of the Geography of the Country Occupied by Them—Samuel Hearne Discovers Great Slave Lake, Coppermine River and the Arctic Ocean—Russia's Activity in Alaska Incites Spain to Renew her Explorations—Voyage of Perez and Martinez—Perez enters Port San Lorenzo, or Nootka Sound—Martinez Claims to have Observed the Straits of Fuca—Voyage of Heceta and Bodega y Quadra—Bellin's Wonderful Chart—Discovery of Trinidad Bay—Isla de Dolores, or Destruction Island—Heceta Attempts to Enter the Columbia—Spanish and English Methods of Exploration Compared—Bodega and Maurelle Discover Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb—They Land and Take Possession for the King of Spain—They Reach Latitude 58° and Return—England, in Alarm at the Progress Made by Spain and Russia, Sends Captain Cook to the Pacific—His Particular Instructions—Cook Names the Sandwich Islands, Cape Flattery and Nootka Sound, and Searches for the Straits of Fuca, River of Kings and Straits of Anian—He Passes Through Behring's Straits and Around the Northwestern Extremity of Alaska—Winters in the Sandwich Islands and is Killed by the Natives—The Expedition Again Visits the Arctic, Takes a Cargo of Furs to Canton and Returns to England—The Record of the Voyage Pigeonholed Until the War is Over—Enterprise of John

Ledyard—Arteaga, Bodega and Maurelle Follow Cook's Route Up the Coast.

DURING all the long absence of Spain from the North Pacific she was not neglecting her interests still further to the south. With the abandonment of Otondo's colony in Lower California in 1686, a council of chief authorities in Mexico decided that the reduction of California by means of official colonies and expeditions was impracticable. A few years later the Society of Jesus, whose zealous missionaries had long since carried the cross into the remote frontiers of Mexico, solicited the privilege of planting a colony and founding missions in Lower California; and though this was just the object the government had sought so long to accomplish, it took ten years to obtain the royal warrant, so jealous was the throne of the growing power of the Jesuits. In 1697 the first mission was founded at Loretto, and in 1767, when the Society of Jesus was deprived of all its property in the Spanish dominions and its members thrown into prison upon the order of Charles III., there existed in Lower California sixteen thriving missions and thirty-six villages. This rich inheritance was bestowed upon the Dominicans, while at the same time the Franciscans were granted full and exclusive authority to found missions in Alta California and take possession in the name of the Spanish crown.

The first mission in Alta California was founded by Father Junipero Serra at San Diego, July 16, 1769, which was followed by that of San Carlos, at Monterey, August 3, 1770; San Antonio de Padua, July 14, 1771; San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, September 8, 1771; San Luis Obispo, in September, 1772; Dolores, at San Francisco, October 10, 1776; and others at later dates, to the total number of twenty-two. The missions became so numerous and powerful that the Mexican government began in 1824 a series of hostile acts which ended in 1845 in their complete secularization, just one year before the country was conquered by the United States.

It was in 1769, while Gaspar de Portala, at the head of a party from San Diego, was searching for the Harbor of Monterey, that the Bay of San Francisco was discovered and named. On the thirtieth of October they came upon a bay which "they at once

recognized," says Father Crespi, the historian who accompanied them. There exists now no record of any prior discovery of the great harbor at San Francisco, except the Manila chart previously referred to, and it certainly seems strange that they would spend nearly four months searching for such an inferior port as Monterey at which to found a mission and harbor of refuge, when such a glorious one existed only a few miles further north. They now remembered that Father Junipero Serra had been grieved because the Visitadore General had neglected St. Francis, the patron saint of the order, in selecting names for their future missions, and that he had said, "If St. Francis wants a mission, let him show you a good port and we will put one there." They believed that their patron had purposely led them to this harbor, and they named it "San Francisco," in his honor. It was first entered by a vessel in June, 1775, when the *San Carlos* sailed through the Golden Gate and cast anchor before the site upon which the *pueblo* (town) of Yerba Buena (now San Francisco) was afterward built.

Having seen the Spaniards take possession of California, it is necessary to consider the relative claims of the contending nations in North America, in order to fully understand the various acts of each, which led to the discovery and settlement of Oregon. To do this requires a return to the seventeenth century.

The Treaty of Ryswick was concluded in 1695, in which was a provision defining the boundaries of the colonial possessions of the various rival nations in America. This was definite and positive; but, owing to the crude ideas of American geography which prevailed at that time, was imperfect in many respects. Florida, as the Spanish possessions north of Mexico were called, was bordered on the north by the Carolinas, but further west the boundaries were quite indefinite, conflicting with the Louisiana of the French. France claimed as Louisiana all north of the mouth of the Mississippi and west of the Alleghanies, the western boundary being indefinite because no one knew how far toward the Occident the continent extended. She also claimed the region of the St. Lawrence and the chain of great lakes under the general title of Canada, these two provinces joining and interlacing without any line of division either expressed or understood. The Hudson's Bay country was also claimed by France, though not with much persistence, and

it was at that time actually in the possession of England, in the person of the Hudson's Bay Company. The English colonies were east of the Alleghanies, from Main to Georgia. In 1713 France relinquished to England her claim upon the Hudson's Bay region, and turned her attention to strengthening her position in Canada and Louisiana.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, French explorers and Jesuit missionaries traversed the Mississippi Valley, established a chain of stations between Canada and Louisiana, among them the city of St. Louis, and even penetrated the unknown wilderness lying between the headwaters of the Mississippi and the "Shining Mountains," as they first called the Rocky Mountains, whose snowy sides and lofty spires of rock reflected the bright rays of the sun hundreds of miles to the westward. The most noted of these French pioneers were La Salle, Père Marquette, Baron La Hontan, Chevalier La Verendrye and his sons, Father Hennepin, Dupratz and Charlevoix. Nearly all of these wrote accounts of their travels, gave descriptions of the country and the native tribes, and from their own observations and the information gleaned from the Indians made maps of that region, embracing a little which they knew and a great deal which they guessed at. These maps, to say the least, are very queer. One of them, drawn in 1710 to show the results of a western journey accomplished by La Hontan, is especially odd. It shows a great river (called the "Long River"), up which he passed, as entering the Mississippi in the region of Dubuque, Iowa. This was, beyond doubt, the Missouri, though that stream is also represented in its proper place where it unites with the "Father of Waters," and is made to extend almost due west to the mountains. Passing across from the headwaters of the Mississippi and coming upon the Missouri so far to the north, he naturally supposed it to be another stream. Up this he followed, apparently branching off to ascend the Platte. He describes the upper part of the stream as a series of lakes and swamps. Some of his descriptions and the features of his map are very peculiar, so much so that historians have been inclined to doubt the extent of his journey. There is one feature, however, which tells in his favor. The map shows, at some distance to the southwest of the point indicated as the west-

ern limit of his wanderings, a large lake, which the Indians told him contained bitter water. This was undoubtedly Great Salt Lake, the one which years before the Indians of Mexico had endeavored to describe to the Spanish explorers. The lakes indicated as existing along the river beyond the point where the journey ended were probably so marked because he misunderstood the Indians when they spoke of the many large lakes existing in the region to the westward.

One feature is very prominent in the reports of nearly all these early French explorers—the fact that beyond the “Shining Mountains” was a large river flowing westward to the “Great Water,” in the latitude of the headwaters of the Mississippi. This they learned from the Indians with whom they came in contact. Though, with the exception of the Verendryes and their successors in command along the Saskatchewan, probably none of them went further west than the Red River of the North; still the Indians of that region, in the years of peaceful intercourse or bloody hostilities with the tribes beyond the mountains, must have become sufficiently familiar with the geography of the country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific to know of the existence of such a large stream as the Columbia. When the trappers appeared among the Cheyennes, Crows, Blackfeet, Pawnees, Sioux, and other tribes, early in the present century, they found them to be possessed of quite an intimate knowledge of the topography of the country west of the mountains occupied by the Shoshones, Bannocks, Flatheads and Nez Percés, and there is no reason to suppose that a hundred years earlier their knowledge was not nearly as great. The assertion that a great river existed beyond the mountains was not like those tales of the “City of Quivira” and the “Land of Cibola,” which led the Spaniards to take such long journeys into the deserts of Mexico and Arizona two centuries before. Coming from different tribes, through sources that were recognized as being totally distinct, it was accepted as a geographical fact that such a river existed, and a stream of that nature was indicated on the maps of the period, bearing the various titles of “River of the West,” “River Thegayo,” “Rio de los Reyes” (the mythical stream of Admiral Fonté), and “Rio de Aguilar” (the one whose mouth Aguilar claimed to have discovered in 1603). The most definite

published account of this great stream was given by Lepage Dupratz, a French traveler of note, who received it from a Yazoo Indian. It was to the effect that this Indian ascended the Missouri northwesterly to its head, and going still further west came upon another large river flowing to the westward. He passed down the stream until he was compelled to halt because of a war existing between the natives living along its banks and a tribe further west. He participated in the hostilities, during which his friends captured a squaw of the western tribe, and from her he learned that the river flowed many miles until it emptied into a great water where ships had been seen, on which were men with beards and white faces. The geographical statements are so accurate that there is no room to doubt the knowledge of the Yazoo savage of the existence of the Columbia River; but his statement about ships and white men is historically impossible, since no vessel had ever visited the mouth of the Columbia, or even been so far north as that, unless it be admitted that Sir Francis Drake reached latitude 48° and was near enough to the coast to have the faces and beards of his men recognized; but that was a century and a half before, and if his visit was known to the Indians at all it would probably be in the form of a legend about a great white bird that swam in the water, or the canoe of the Great Spirit. That portion of the story was probably a creation of the Indian, or an amplification of the tale, made by Dupratz himself.

De L'Isle, geographer of the Academy of Science, Paris, wrote March 15, 1716: "They tell me that among the Scioux of the Mississippi there are always Frenchmen trading; that the course of the Mississippi is from north to west, and from west to south [evidently the Mississippi is here confounded with the Missouri], from that it is known that towards the source there is in the highlands a river that leads to the western ocean." De L'Isle warmly urged the government to explore the far West, in search of this river and the "Western Ocean" into which it flowed, and was seconded in his efforts by a learned priest named Bode. Temporary posts had been established many years before in various parts of Minnesota. Du Luth built one near the head of Lake Superior, in 1678; Perrot founded another below Lake Pepin, in 1683; a stockade was erected above Lake Pepin on Prairie Island, in 1695, and Le Seur

had a post in 1700 on the Blue Earth, near the site of Mankato. The importunities of De L'Isle and Pére Bode caused the government to begin an energetic policy of Western exploration and occupation in 1717, commencing with the re-establishment of the fort of Du Luth and another further west among the Sioux. Other posts followed in rapid succession. In 1728, *Seur de la Verendrye*, who was in command of these advanced posts, received such definite information of the "Shining Mountains" from the Indians, and of the great river beyond them which flowed towards the western sea, that he decided to make a systematic exploration of those unknown regions. His application for authority was favorably considered by Charles de Beauharnois, Governor-General of Canada, and orders were given for the fitting out of an expedition.

In 1731 two sons of the Chevalier Verendrye left Montreal with a detachment of fifty men, their father not joining them until two years later. They reached Rainey Lake in the fall, and at the foot of the lake built Fort St. Pierre, named in honor of their father, whose baptismal name was Pierre. Next year they established Fort St. Charles, named in honor of the Governor-General, on the southwestern shore of the Lake of the Woods. Further on they built a post on the Assiniboine, five leagues from Lake Winnipeg, and Fort Maurepas, on Winnipeg River. In June, 1736, a party of twenty-six, among whom was the younger son of the Chevalier, were massacred by the Sioux Indians while encamped on a small island in the Lake of the Woods. In October, 1738, the Verendryes built Fort La Reine, further west on the Assiniboine, which became their base of operations. In 1742 the two sons of the Chevalier left Fort La Reine with a small party for the purpose of fully exploring the "Shining Mountains." They followed up Mouse River in a southerly direction to the country of the Mandans (called by them "Montanes"), crossed the Missouri a little below the site of Fort Berthold, and ascended the stream to the canyon below Helena, making a portage around the Great Falls, which they described in their report, differing in no essential particular from the description given by Lewis and Clarke sixty-two years later. At this point, now known as the "Gateway of the Mountains," they ascended the summit of the range on the 12th day of January, 1743, not far from Bear Tooth Peak, of which they speak

as a tusk-shaped mountain. They then passed up Deep Creek (Smith River), crossed the mountains to the headwaters of the Musselshell, and thence across to the Yellowstone at the mouth of Pryor River. They followed up this stream to the Stinking Water, and on over the mountains to Wind River. Here their progress was arrested by a fierce war raging between the Snakes and Sans Arc branch of the Sioux; but they were told by the friendly Snakes of the location of Tongue and Green Rivers. They then returned to the Upper Missouri, and raised a monument of stone near the mouth of the Jefferson—in what they called the "Petite Cerise" (Choke Cherry country)—as a witness that they took possession of the country in the name of the King of France. This they christened "Beauharnois," and beneath it deposited a leaden plate bearing the French coat-of-arms. This ceremony of dedication was performed May 19, 1744. They then resumed the homeward journey. North of the Assiniboine they explored the Saskatchewan—called by them "Poskoiac"—as far as the forks, and built two forts, one near Lake Dauphin (Swan Lake) and the other on the "River des Biches." They reached the Lake of the Woods on the 2d of July, and reported the northern route by the Saskatchewan as preferable to the Missouri, because of the absence of danger of meeting Spaniards, whom they feared might be encountered further south. They would not have felt so much solicitude on the subject if they had been aware that the Jesuit missions in the extreme southern portion of the peninsula of Lower California were the farthest north of the Spanish colonies of the Pacific Coast.

Before starting upon their two years' journey they had been informed by the Indians that the "Shining Mountains" were full of gold. When they reached the mountains they were disappointed to find that it was not gold, but barren rock and snow, which reflected the rays of the sun so brightly, and they changed their name to "Stony, or Rocky, Mountains." The furthest west the information gained by the Verendrye brothers extends is to the Flathead Indians, of whom they speak, living just west of the main chain of the Rockies and within the limits of Oregon, as that territory existed when it was in dispute between the United States and Great Britain, but now in the western extremity of Montana. They encountered a band of Flatheads, who told them of their country west of the

mountains, and of the great lake from which a river ran. This lake, they understood the Indians to say, was the source of a tributary of the Missouri, but the cause of their error is evident, as Sun River flows from the mountains in that direction. They were also told of the great river running westward to the ocean, but were not able to cross the divide to explore it. The river to which the Indians referred was probably the stream first reached by Lewis and Clarke when they crossed the main divide, and which they named "Clarke's River." The stream is now known at various points along its course as "Deer Lodge," "Hellgate," "Bitter-Root," "Missoula," "Clarke's Fork," and "Pend d'Oreille," though a commendable fidelity to history, and a proper regard for the honor of one of our greatest explorers, demands that the use of every name but that of "Clarke's River" to be at once abandoned.

The Chevalier Verendrye was relieved of his command of the frontier soon after this expedition, but was restored a few years later by Galissonere, the successor of Beauharnois. He died December 6, 1749, while planning a tour up the Saskatchewan. His son was deposed by Jonquierre, the next Governor-General, who dispatched two expeditions in search of the Pacific. One of these was commanded by St. Pierre, and was to ascend the Saskatchewan, while the other, headed by Marin, was to go up the Missouri. St. Pierre excited the hostility of the Kinsteneaux Indians, who attempted to kill him; and though they failed in this they succeeded in burning Fort La Reine. He sent Lieutenant Bouchet de Neville to establish a post at the head of the Saskatchewan. This effort proved a failure because of sickness, but in 1753 some of the men established Fort Jonquierre in the Rocky Mountains. In 1754 St. Pierre was relieved by De la Crone, and the following year fell in the battle before Fort St. George. The proposed expedition of Marin up the Missouri was a complete failure.

The explorations of these French travelers ended with the war between England and France, which was participated in by their respective colonies in America, and which is known on this side of the Atlantic as the "French and Indian War." As that struggle drew toward its close, and France realized that her possessions in America were about to fall into the grasp of her immemorial enemy, she secretly conveyed to Spain her province of Louisiana. When

the gallant Wolfe died upon the Plains of Abraham in the very moment of triumph, one of the prizes to be gained by this crowning victory of the war had already passed into the keeping of another. Louisiana belonged to Spain. The treaty of Paris, in 1763, conveyed Canada to Great Britain, and thus France was shorn of all her possessions in America. All these frontier posts were abandoned, and the Rocky Mountains again became the undisputed home of the aborigine.

We now approach the memorable journey of the none too veracious Captain Carver, the man who stands sponsor for the word "Oregon." This has led, by reason of the superficiality of many historical writers, to the bestowing upon him of all the credit of making known to the world the existence of the Columbia River, when the fact is that it was known long before his doubtful journey, and his account of it, so far from being written upon original information, was but the re-publication of facts made known by the French explorers above mentioned, many years before. Jonathan Carver was a native of Connecticut, and served with gallantry as a captain of the English colonial army in the war with France, which was terminated by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. He then conceived the idea of exploring the western portion of England's new possessions. In 1766 he left Boston, and going by the way of Detroit and Fort Michilimacinae, reached the headwaters of the Mississippi. Thus far historians admit that he traveled, probably to the Lake Park region of Minnesota, where rise streams flowing into the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Red River of the North. Carver's claim to extensive traveling west of the headwaters of the Mississippi, covering a period of five months, is a very doubtful one; since his descriptions of the names, manners and customs of the Indian tribes of that region are but the translations into English of the works of the earlier French explorers. His object, as stated in the introduction to his book was, "after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil and natural productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part, between the forty-third and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude. *Had I been able to accomplish this*, I intended to have proposed to the government to

establish a post in some of those parts, about the Straits of Anian, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belongs to the English." The captain exposes his want of fitness as a geographer or historian by asserting that Drake discovered the Straits of Anian. The circumstances of Drake's voyage were more widely known than those of any other navigator, and in neither of the two accounts published was there a statement that the great robber had discovered those mythical straits, or any other passage leading inland from the Pacific. Carver did not seem to consider his adventures or discoveries worthy of publication until twenty years later, at a time when unusual interest was felt in England in the discovery of the Northwest Passage, to find which the celebrated Captain Cook had just been dispatched on a voyage of exploration to the North Pacific. Carver was at that time living in London in much financial distress, and his friends advised him to take advantage of the public interest to publish a book. He consequently wrote one, evidently compiled in a large measure from the narratives before alluded to, large portions of them being translated literally into English. He died in 1780 in extreme penury. The only interest this work or its author can have to modern historians, is the appearance therein of the word "Oregon," the first use of that term which has anywhere been discovered. It appears in the following connection :

From these natives, together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz.:—the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon (Red River of the North), and the Oregon, or River of the West—have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; [this is practically correct, and this point, somewhere in Western Minnesota, is probably the limit of his westward journey,] the latter, however, is rather further west. This shows that these parts are the highest in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled in the other three-quarters of the world, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of two thousand miles from their sources, for in their passage from this spot to the Bay of St. Lawrence, east, to the Bay of Mexico, south, to Hudson's Bay, north, and to the Bay at the Straits of Anian, west, each of these traverse upwards of two thousand miles.

In this statement Carver does not claim to have visited the headwaters of the River Oregon, or even to know their exact location. He expressly observes that he derived his information chiefly "from

these natives," and it is possible that even from them it reached him through the medium of his French predecessors.

Whence Carver derived his authority for calling the River of the West "Oregon" has been a matter of much discussion. Though it is now generally admitted that the word originated with Carver himself, or was supposed by him to be the name of the stream from some half-understood words uttered by the Indians in referring to it; yet there are many who are not content unless they can build up some theory founded upon a similarity of sound, and plausible only to those who are ignorant of the details of the early explorations in the Pacific. Of these the one most generally accepted in Oregon is the following from the pen of Archbishop Blanchet, speaking of himself in the third person:—

Jonathan Carver, an English captain in the wars by which Canada came into the possession of Great Britain, after the peace, left Boston, June 6, 1766, crossed the continent to the Pacific, and returned October, 1768. In relation to his travels, which were published in 1774, and republished in 1778, he is the first who makes use of the word "Oregon." The origin of that word has never been discovered in the country. The first Catholic missionaries—Father Demers, now Bishop of Vancouver Island, and Father Blanchet, now Bishop of Oregon City—arrived in Oregon in 1838. They traveled through it for many years, from south to north, from west to east, visiting and teaching the numerous tribes of Oregon, Washington Territory and British possessions. But in all their various excursions among the Indians they never succeeded in finding the origin of the word "Oregon." Now it appears that what could not be found in Oregon has been discovered by Archbishop Blanchet in Bolivia, when he visited that country, Chile and Peru in 1855 and 1857. The word "Oregon," in his opinion, most undoubtedly has its root in the Spanish word *oreja* (ear), and came from the qualifying word *orejon* (big ear). For it is probable that the Spaniards, who first discovered and visited the country, when they saw the Indians with big ears, enlarged by the load of ornaments, were naturally inclined to call them *orejon* (big ears). That nickname, first given to the Indians, became also the name of the country. This explains how Captain Carver got it and first made use of it. But the travelers, perhaps Carver himself, not knowing the Spanish language, nor the peculiar pronunciation of the *j* in Spanish, for facility sake would have written it and pronounced it *Oregon*, instead of *Orejon*, in changing *j* to *g*. Such, in all probability, must be the origin of the word "Oregon." It comes from the Spanish word *Orejon*.

This is certainly a scientific explanation, and were it only sustained by facts would be a satisfactory one; it will not, however, stand for a moment the light of investigation. At the time Carver made his journey no Spanish explorer had set foot in Oregon nor had the least communication with its native inhabitants; they were not even familiar enough with the coast line to be aware of the existence of the Columbia River. The only expeditions had been

those of Ferrelo and Aguilar, and neither of these had even made an attempt to land. Consequently they had not and could not apply the title *Oregon* to its inhabitants—people whom they had never seen and of whom they knew nothing. No allusion is made to the natives of this unknown land in the record of any Spanish explorer previous to that date, and the Bishop's supposition that they "discovered and visited this country," shows how unfamiliar he was with the history of Spanish explorations on the Pacific Coast. His assertion that Carver crossed the continent to the Pacific is equally at variance with the facts. The word "Oregon" was unknown to the Indians until after the country was visited by trappers, and the Bishop himself bears testimony to the fact that in all their extensive travels among the natives he and his missionary associates were unable to find authority for its use. Thus we see that the Spaniards had not visited Oregon, and knowing nothing of its inhabitants could not have called them "big ears"; that Carver did not visit the Columbia; that the word "Oregon" was unknown by the Indians, and, therefore, could not have been conveyed by them from tribe to tribe until it reached Carver's ears; therefore, the Bishop's theory is untenable.

Equally so is the idea that Oregon was the Indian name of the Columbia, since if such were the case the early settlers of this region would have learned the name from the natives, instead of having to teach it to them. The same objections are valid to the theory that the early Spanish explorers bestowed the name because of the wild majoram (*origanum*) found along the coast, since we have seen that the Spaniards had never set foot on the coast of Oregon, and that the name nowhere appears in Spanish records. If euphony of sound is to be relied upon, combined with the popular but erroneous idea that Oregon was explored in early times by the Spaniards, then the writer desires to announce that he, also, has a theory—that in sailing along the coast some romantic Spaniard conceived a resemblance between the graceful summits of the Coast Range and the blue hills of his native Aragon, and bestowed that name upon this new land. To support this he calls attention to the fact that the Spaniards named Mexico "New Spain"; the Dutch called their settlement on the Atlantic coast "New Amsterdam," it being subsequently christened "New York" by the English; the region set-

tled by the Puritans and the Massachusetts Colony was named "New England"; and the French at one time called Canada "New France." Instances of this kind might be easily multiplied, though, perhaps, the nearest and most convincing is the bestowal of the title "New Albion" upon California by Sir Francis Drake, because of the chalky bluffs he had observed along the coast. Profound and brilliant as the writer conceives this theory to be, he feels compelled to give place to the Irishman, who believed Oregon to be named in honor of his royal ancestors, the O'Regons. There we have not only euphony of sound, but correct orthography, combined with a proper degree of ignorance upon the subject.

The traditionary policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to head off, or render nugatory, all attempts by the government to explore its chartered domains in search of the Straits of Anian, or some other passage into the Pacific Ocean from the North Atlantic, was strictly adhered to during the eighteenth century. They did not want the government itself nor the people to have any knowledge whatever of the regions lying contiguous to Hudson's Bay. To that end they kept to themselves all geographical knowledge gained year by year by their representatives in the course of business transactions, or when sent upon special journeys of exploration by the company. In 1745 Parliament offered a reward of £20,000 to any one discovering a passage into the Pacific from Hudson's Bay, but no one made a serious effort to earn the money. The company was powerful enough to prevent it. Nearly thirty years later, however, having become satisfied from information gathered by their employees that no such passage existed, they dispatched Samuel Hearne in search of a copper mine, of which much had been said by the Indians, and which was to be found on the bank of a stream called by the natives the "Far-off Metal River." That they might have the credit of exerting themselves in searching for the passage whose discovery had ostensibly been one of the leading objects in organizing the company, they instructed Hearne to keep his weather eye open for the Straits of Anian, and permitted it to be understood that this was the chief aim of his journey. The first object of note discovered by Hearne was Great Slave Lake, and he followed this and the connecting system of lakes and the Coppermine River to the point of its discharge into the Arctic Ocean.

The Coppermine he believed to be the stream to which the Indians referred, but he found the proverbial enchantment of distance was alone responsible for the stories of its great richness in copper, and that, so far as minerals were concerned, his journey and sufferings—for he endured many hardships and privations—had been in vain. The Arctic he conceived to be an inland sea, similar to Hudson's Bay, and such he reported it upon his return to the company's headquarters; also that no water passage connected the two great bodies of water. Though the journal kept by Hearne was not published for twenty years, the company immediately communicated to the admiralty the failure of Hearne to discover any North-west Passage. This seemed to end all hope of finding such a waterway leading out of Hudson's Bay; but the discovery of the new sea opened the door to new hopes. There might be a means of communication between it and Baffin's Bay, and from it might possibly be found the long-sought Straits of Anian, leading into the Pacific. It certainly resembled Maldonado's "North Sea."

The rapidity with which Russia was extending her outposts in Alaska began to cause serious alarm in Spain. Inactivity and apparent apathy had marked the conduct of that nation for a century and a half, so far as the region lying north of California was concerned. This, however, was not caused by lack of interest, but by circumstances easily understood. All voyages of exploration had to be made at the expense of the Viceroy's treasury, and this the chief executive in the New World objected to. As long as Spain was not threatened with the loss of exclusive dominion on the Pacific Coast, there was nothing to arouse the government to action; nor was there anything in those unknown regions which was sufficiently tempting to induce the Viceroy to undergo the expense of a voyage of exploration unless stimulated by the positive orders of the crown. Now, however, affairs presented a different aspect. The extent of Russian exploration and occupation of the North Pacific were unknown; no definite information had been received; the report of none of the Russian voyages had been published; yet that Russia was making quite extensive discoveries in that region was well known in Europe, and it caused much anxiety in Spain. She was aroused to the display of great activity, apparently combined with a purpose of discovering and taking

possession of all the coast not already occupied by the Muscovites.

The first movement made by Spain was the colonizing of California, previously spoken of. The next was a series of explorations by sea. January 25, 1774, the corvette *Santiago* sailed from San Blas, commanded by Juan Perez, and piloted by Estivan Martinez. Perez was instructed to proceed as far north as the sixtieth degree of latitude, and then to return slowly along the coast, landing at sundry accessible points to take possession in the name of the King. The *Santiago* touched at San Diego and Monterey. He sailed from the latter port on the sixteenth of June, and sighted land again thirty-two days later, in latitude 54°, off the coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. Warned by the appearance of the dreaded scurvy among his crew that the voyage could not be prolonged, Perez turned about and coasted along to the southward. For a hundred miles he thus followed the coast, enjoying a highly profitable trade in furs with the natives, who came out to the vessel in great canoes and exchanged sea otter and other valuable skins for merest trifles. A storm then drove the *Santiago* seaward, and she did not again make the land until the ninth of August, when she anchored at the entrance of a deep water bay in latitude 49° and 30'. In the direction of nomenclature the Spaniards were never at a loss, provided not more than one name was required per day. Whenever an object was discovered of sufficient importance to require christening, the devout Catholic turned to his Roman calendar, and whatever saint was found to have been declared by the Church to be worthy of special honor upon that day, the name of that canonized mortal was bestowed upon it. Following this rule Perez discovered that the proper name of this harbor was "San Lorenzo," and that name he entered upon his journal and chart. This harbor was afterward re-christened by the English, and is now known as "King George's Sound," or "Nootka Sound." It lies on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and was a few years later the scene of an interesting episode which nearly precipitated a bloody conflict between Great Britain and Spain. Perez stopped for a few days to trade with the natives, of whose intelligence and light complexion he makes special mention, and then continued southward. He observed Mount Olympus, in latitude 47° and 47', which he christened "Santa Rosalia." A few days later he sighted

Cape Mendocino, whose exact latitude he ascertained, and in due time arrived at Monterey, having by his superficial method added but little to geographical knowledge. Many years afterward, when the Straits of Fuca had been discovered by an English captain, and Spain was eager to prove a prior discovery, Martinez, the pilot of the *Santiago*, declared that he had observed a broad opening in the coast line between latitudes 48° and 49°, and that he had bestowed his own name upon the point of land at its entrance on the south. Though there was nothing recorded in the journal of the voyage, Spanish geographers accepted this questionable statement as worthy of credence, and designated upon their maps as "Cape Martinez" the headland now known as "Cape Flattery."

A second expedition was dispatched the following year, with instructions to proceed as far north as the sixty-fifth parallel. This was composed of two vessels, the *Santiago*, commanded by Bruno Hequeta, and piloted by Perez, its former captain; and the *Sonora*, under Juan de Ayala, whose pilot was Antonio Maurelle. A French geographer named Bellin had prepared a chart of the Pacific, founded upon printed reports and rumored discoveries made by various nations, a chart which was "wonderfully and fearfully made." It is difficult to conceive how such a map could have been produced; certainly nothing but the phosphorescent intellect of a Frenchman could have evolved such a geographical monstrosity. With Bellin's chart, the latest issued, the explorers were supplied, and it is a fact far from creditable that Spaniards had made so long a voyage the year before without being able to correct any of its eccentricities. The *Santiago* and *Sonora*, accompanied by the *San Carlos*, sailed from San Blas, March 15, 1775, and proceeded to Monterey. There Ayala was transferred to the *San Carlos*, Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra succeeding to the command of the *Sonora*. The latter vessel and the *Santiago* then sailed from Monterey on their voyage of discovery. On the ninth of June they anchored in an open roadstead some distance north of Cape Mendocino, calling it Port Trinidad for the all-satisfying reason that the day mentioned was dedicated in the calendar to the Holy Trinity. This is the same Bay of Trinidad which caused so much excitement among the gold hunters in 1850, and the following year became the landing place for the devotees of "Gold Bluff." Having spent nine

days at Trinidad, the vessels again put to sea, and did not sight land again till in latitude 48° and $27'$, according to their somewhat faulty reckoning, being almost at the entrance of the Straits of Fuca. The Greek pilot had located his passageway between latitudes 47° and 48° ; and it being thus indicated on Bellin's chart, the explorers turned to the southward to search for what was almost within the horizon line on the north. Of course they found nothing. The only adventure worthy of note in that region, was the killing of seven of the *Sonora's* crew by the Indians. This occurred on the mainland near a small island in latitude 47° , which was named "Isla de Dolores" (Island of Sorrows), the title, as usual, being dictated by the calendar. It was afterward christened "Destruction Island" by an English captain who lost a boat's crew near that point in precisely the same manner.

Here Heceta became alarmed at the ravages the dreaded scurvy was committing, and desired to return before his crews entirely succumbed to the scourge. He was persuaded to continue the voyage, but a few days later a storm separated the two consorts, and Heceta at once headed his vessel for Monterey. He observed land in latitude 50° , being the southwest portion of Vancouver Island, but overlooked the Port San Lorenzo of Perez, and the Straits of Fuca, beginning again the search for the latter in latitude 48° . He made a great discovery on the fifteenth of August, 1775, being no less than the entrance to the Columbia River. While sailing quietly along the coast he suddenly noticed an opening in the land from which flowed a stream of water with great force. He endeavored to enter, but the current was too strong, and for a whole day he was thus baffled in his efforts to explore what he was satisfied was the channel of a great river, perhaps the Rio de Aguilar, or, possibly, the Straits of Fuca, for which he had been so diligently searching. He at last abandoned the effort and sailed again toward Monterey, observing, for the first time, the coast of Oregon with sufficient carefulness to enter upon his journal quite accurate descriptions. This was the first time the coast of Oregon was actually explored by the Spaniards, or any other nation, being a year later than the first publication of Carver's book containing the word "Oregon," and nineteen years after the journey of which the volume treated. It is plainly evident that the name was not

bestowed by the Spaniards. Upon his chart Heceta entered the river he had discovered not as a river, since he had not proved it to be such, but as an inlet, calling it "Ensenada de Asuncion." This name was bestowed for the all-sufficient reason, to a Spaniard, that the fifteenth of August was the day of the Assumption. The sixteenth was devoted by the calendar to the glorification of Saint Roc, and he therefore called the promontory on the north "Cabo de San Roque." The calendar having been exhausted he was compelled to bestow a more sensible title upon the low point of land on the south, which he christened "Cabo de Frondoso" (Leafy Cape). Maps made by the Spaniards thereafter had indicated upon them an indentation in the shore line at this point, variously marked "Ensenada de Heceta" and "Rio de San Roque," according as the map-maker believed it to be a river or simply an inlet.

While Heceta was making these discoveries Bodega and Maurelle were still sailing northward in the little *Sonora*, endeavoring to obey their instructions. It was, apparently, the policy of Spanish explorers to give the land as wide a berth as possible. English navigators always kept as close in shore as circumstances would permit, carefully examining every bay and inlet, making frequent observations and copious entries upon their journals. When their voyage was completed they were prepared to make an approximately correct map of the coast, accompanied by long and careful descriptions. Not so with the Spaniards. They kept well out to sea, sighting land here and there, and when they returned were utterly unable to report anything save that they had sailed to a certain latitude and had seen land several times during the voyage. Whether the land observed was an island or a portion of the continent, or whether the coast line was continuous, or was much indented with bays and inlets, they could not tell. This is why the Spaniards, even after the voyages of Perez, Heceta and Bodega, were utterly unable to prepare a map of the coast which was the least approach to the original. It was now they began to appreciate the beauties of Bellin's Chart, which had been prepared partly from the worthless reports of their predecessors, partly from the reports of equally superficial Russian explorers, and partly from imagination. On the sixteenth of August, when the chart assured them they were one

hundred and thirty-five leagues distant from the American shore—and it is difficult to understand how they could flatter themselves that they were exploring a coast line which was one hundred and thirty-five leagues distant—they suddenly discovered land both to the north and east of them. They were then above the fifty-sixth parallel, in the vicinity of a huge snow-mantled peak, rising abruptly from a headland on the coast, which they christened "Mount San Jacinto." This is the one named "Mount Edgecumbe" by Captain Cook, and stands on the chief island of King George III.'s Archipelago. Supposing it to be a portion of the main land, the Spaniards landed to take possession in the name of their sovereign. They planted a cross, with appropriate ceremonies, and were busily engaged in procuring a supply of fish and fresh water, when they were suddenly interrupted by the native proprietors. The cross was uprooted in scorn and those who had erected it were given to understand that a hasty departure would be agreeable, though they were not permitted to make so much haste that payment for the fish and water was neglected. Thus ended the first effort of Spain to take possession of the coast north of California. They then continued their northward journey as far as latitude 58°, when Bodego decided to begin the homeward voyage and explore the coast line more thoroughly. They searched carefully for the Rio de los Reyes as far south as latitude 54°, but did not find it; nor would they have found it had it been in existence, since Admiral Fonté located his wonderful stream under the fifty-third parallel. They landed again on the twenty-fourth of August, in a little harbor on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island, where they took possession without interference from the Indians, and named the place "Port Bucareli," in honor of the Viceroy under whose directions they were acting, and whose proud privilege it was to pay the expenses of the voyage. Occasionally observing the coast south of this point, they began again, in latitude 45°, to scrutinize the Oregon shore in search of Aguilar's River, and though they observed several streams of water entering the sea, they were not of sufficient magnitude to indicate a large stream, such as Aguilar reported having seen near the forty-third parallel in 1603. They did, however, observe a prominent headland answering Aguilar's description of Cape Blanco. Their next stopping place was in a bay

which the *Sonora* entered on the third of October, and which Bodega supposed was the Bay of San Francisco. He learned later that it was a much smaller one lying a little further north, and this has ever since been known as Bodega Bay.

These three voyages justly entitled Spain to a claim to the entire coast from Cape Mendocino to Mount San Jacinto by title of exploration. If that title was of any value, it belonged to Spain; but in these modern times, possession is a far stronger title than simple discovery, and the United States found the claim acquired from Spain hard to defend against England's actual possession of the soil. In fact, had she depended upon it at all Oregon would now be a province of Great Britain. Accounts of these important voyages did not reach the public through the medium of the press; yet the fact that the Spaniards had made several important voyages in the Pacific, and were evidently seeking to take possession of the entire coast, soon became known in England, and created great uneasiness. She could not stand supinely by and see her ancient enemy secure a territory which she had coveted for years, ever since the marauding expedition of Sir Francis Drake two centuries before, but which, as yet, she had made no direct effort to reach from the Pacific side. This year, 1776, saw England involved in war with her colonies on the Atlantic Coast, yet she was none the less eager to plant new ones at the other extremity of the continent. Her passion for acquiring broad territorial dependencies could not be checked by her unpleasant experiences with the confederate colonies who had just declared themselves free and independent. It is this policy of colonial aggrandizement, systematically maintained through long series of years, which has made her the center of an empire upon which the sun never sets, and in which her "morning drum beat follows the course of the sun in one continuous roll around the world." Parliament at once renewed her offer made in 1745, of a reward of £20,000 for the discovery of the Northwest Passage, though not limiting it to exploration in Hudson's Bay. The reward was offered to any vessel, sailing in any direction, through any straits connecting the Atlantic with the distant Pacific, north of latitude 52°.

This was inimical to the business interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently was productive of no greater results

than the former one. The Admiralty had by this time become satisfied that it was useless to seek for the passage on the Atlantic side, since all their efforts were in some manner rendered abortive; and they decided to dispatch an expedition to the Pacific to search for the passage on that side, and to learn, if possible, the extent of Spanish and Russian occupation. For this important task the most renowned navigator of his time was selected, Captain James Cook, whose recent extensive explorations in the South Sea and Indian Ocean, extending into the Antarctic regions, had been so thoroughly and intelligently conducted that little was left for his successors to accomplish in the same field. It was vitally necessary that this means of entering the Pacific be discovered if England would plant colonies in this region, for communication with them by way of the Horn or Cape of Good Hope would be too long and uncertain. The public gaze was centered upon Captain Cook, and during the four years that passed between the departure and return of his vessels, the gallant navigator and his mission were not forgotten, even amid the exciting incidents of the conflict in America and the graver political complications in Europe. The expedition was composed of two vessels—the *Resolution*, a craft which had just taken Cook around the world, and a consort named the *Discovery*, commanded by Captain Charles Clerke. In every particular the vessels were fitted for the work expected of them. Charts were prepared, embracing all the geographical knowledge of the time, except that recently gained by the Spaniards, the details of which had not yet been received in England. This left a comparative blank in the Pacific between latitudes 43°, the northern limit of Aguilar's voyage, and 56°, the most southerly point on the coast reached by the Russian explorers. In this were indicated three important objects—the great river supposed to exist somewhere within those limits, the Straits of Fuca and the River of Kings. Cook's instructions were very minute and particular. England was involved in war with her American colonies, while her old enemies, France and Spain, seemed about to add material aid to the open encouragement they gave the struggling rebels. It was incumbent upon her to do nothing whatever to incur the open hostility of these warlike nations, or to even give them a plausible excuse for declaring a war which they seemed more than willing to

embark in. To thus send an expedition into waters which Spain had for centuries looked upon as her own special inheritance, and to explore a coast line which she had just visited and formally taken possession of, was a delicate matter, and Captain Cook was relied upon to do nothing to offend the Spaniards or antagonize the Russians, whom he was expected to encounter on the coast of Alaska. He was instructed to first reach the coast of New Albion, for such the English still called California, in latitude 45°, and was "strictly enjoined on his way thither, not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven to it by some unavoidable accident; in which case he should stay no longer than should be absolutely necessary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offense to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic majesty. And if, in his further progress northward, he should meet any subjects of any European prince or state (referring to the Russians), upon any part of the coast which he might think proper to visit, he was not to disturb them or give them just cause of offense, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship." He was also instructed to examine the coast thoroughly, and "with the consent of the natives, to take possession in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient stations in such countries as he might discover *that had not been already discovered or visited by any other European power*, and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as would remain as traces of his having been there; but if he should find the countries so discovered to be uninhabited, he was to take possession of them for his sovereign, by setting up proper marks and descriptions, as first discoverers and possessors."

A literal adherence to these instructions would have barred Cook from the whole coast, since Spanish explorers had visited and taken formal possession at various points but the year before. It was generally supposed that the ocean Hearne had discovered at the mouth of the Coppermine River was identical with the Pacific, and that as progression was made northward the coast would be found trending sharply to the east, the region occupied by the Russians being a sea of islands lying much to the westward of the main land of America. Beginning when he first espied land, he was to search for Aguilar's River, or the Great River of the West, then in latitude

48°, to look for the Straits of Fuca, and near the fifty-third parallel to hunt for Fonté's Rio de los Reyes. Upon reaching the sixty-fifth parallel he was expected to find the coast trending rapidly northeastward towards the mouth of the Coppermine; and from that point he was to explore carefully "such rivers or inlets as might appear to be of considerable extent and pointing toward Hudson's or Baffin's bays." Through all such he was to endeavor to pass, either in his large vessels or in smaller ones to be constructed for that purpose from materials taken with him for that emergency. If, however, he discovered that the Pacific and North Sea were not identical, and that the coast line turned westward or held a northward course, he was to continue on to the Russian settlements at Kamtchatka, and from that point sailed northward "in further search for a northeast or northwest passage from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic or North Sea." Cook certainly had a gigantic task before him.

On the twelfth of July, 1776, eight days after the bell of Independence Hall had rung out to the world the glad tidings that a free people had pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor" in the cause of liberty, Cook sailed from Plymouth on his mission. He rounded the Cape of Good Hope and spent nearly a year in exploring the coast of Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, and the Friendly and Society groups of islands. It was not until the eighteenth of January, 1778, that he encountered the Hawaiian group of islands, making thus one of the most important discoveries in the Pacific. Upon these he bestowed the name of "Sandwich Islands," in courtesy to the First Lord of the Admiralty. After a brief stay at this mid-ocean refuge, he resumed his course eastward, and on the seventh of March espied the coast of New Albion, near the forty-fourth parallel. This was the coast of Oregon in the vicinity of the Umpqua River. After being forced by headwinds as far south as Rogue River, he sailed a northerly course well out to sea, and did not again see land until he reached latitude 48°. To the prominent headland he then saw he gave the name "Cape Flattery," because of the encouraging condition of affairs.

Immediately north of Cape Flattery lay the Straits of Fuca, but on his chart the passage supposed to have been discovered by the old Greek pilot was indicated as lying south of the forty-eighth par-

allel; and so he coasted southward to find it, little imagining that what he sought was within a few miles of him, and that he was deliberately turning his back upon it. Naturally he was unsuccessful in his search, and concluded that no such passage existed. He then sailed north, passing directly by the entrance to the straits without observing them, and cast anchor in Nootka Sound, unaware that it was the one which Perez had entered a few years before and named "Port San Lorenzo"; in fact, he was unacquainted with any of the particulars of the recent Spanish voyages. This port he at first called "St. George's Sound," but soon changed the name to "Nootka," the proper Indian title. The natives were very intelligent, possessed copper, iron and brass, and were familiar with the methods of working them. They were extremely friendly and bartered valuable furs for trinkets of any kind, preferring metal to anything else. The vessels were constantly surrounded by a fleet of canoes, whose occupants had come for many miles along the coast for the purpose of seeing the white strangers and trading with them. Here he lay nearly a month, repairing his vessels and permitting the seamen to recover from the effects of their long voyage. About the first of April he resumed his northward course. In the vicinity of the fifty-third parallel he intended to search for Admiral Fonté's River of Kings, but was driven to sea by a gale and did not again see land until considerably north of that point. This did not appear to him in the light of a disaster, for his journal says: "For my own part I gave no credit to such vague and improbable stories, that convey their own confutation along with them; nevertheless, I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard, in order to clear up this point beyond dispute." From the fifty-fifth parallel, where he again saw land, he continued north, in full view of the coast, observing the peak called "San Jacinto" by Bodega, but which he named "Edgecumbe"; discovering and naming Mount Fairweather, and on the fourth of May reaching an immense snow peak, standing near the water's edge, which he at once recognized as the Mount St. Elias discovered by Behring.

The sharp westward trend of the coast from this point led Cook to begin there a careful search for the Straits of Anian, which he hoped to find leading northward into the North Sea, the existence of which Hearne had verified, or eastward into Hudson's or Baffin's

Bay. The Russian charts showed this to be the end of the American continent, all to the westward being a vast sea of islands; consequently he had good reasons for expecting to find a passage into the North Sea. He began a diligent search, exploring carefully all bays and inlets along the coast. Prince William's Sound and Cook's Inlet received special attention, and on his map are very accurately laid down. The latter he at first supposed to be a river, and called it "Cook's River," but the error was soon discovered. Unsuccessful in finding the desired passage in either of these favorable localities, he continued westward, and soon found the coast trending toward the southwest. His careful explorations convinced him that this region was by no means a sea of islands, but that the American continent "extended much further to the west than, from the modern most reputable charts, he had reason to expect," and that the Russians had been extremely superficial in their explorations. He determined to abandon his present effort and to follow the coast line to its termination, and then to enter Behring's Straits. On the nineteenth of June he fell in with the Schumagin Islands, where he saw the first tokens of Russian presence in that region. One of the many natives who swarmed about the vessel possessed a piece of paper, upon which was writing which he conceived to be in the Russian language. When he had passed the Aleutian Islands, he sailed around them to the north, and then returned eastward, soon reaching the large island of Ounalaska, where he remained five days without encountering any Russians, though he knew this to be an important station in the fur trade. On the second of July he resumed his search for an eastward passage, sailing northerly along the west coast of the Alaskan Peninsula. He reached a point on the ninth of August which he properly concluded was the extreme northwestern corner of America, since the coast beyond trended steadily to the eastward. This he named "Cape Prince of Wales." He then crossed Behring's Strait and followed the Asiatic Coast on the Arctic side as far as Cape North, in latitude 68° and 56'. Returning to the American side, he proceeded beyond Cape Prince of Wales until his progress was arrested by the ice in latitude 70° and 29'. This point he named "Icy Cape," and then returned to Ounalaska, where he found a few Russian fur traders who were greatly surprised to learn how

erroneous had been the opinions they entertained of the geography of the North Pacific. From Ounalaska he sailed directly to the Sandwich Islands, where he spent the winter.

On the sixteenth of February, 1779, while preparing to renew his voyage, he was slain in an unfortunate encounter with the natives of Hawaii, and notwithstanding the fact that every museum in England and America has on exhibition "the club that killed Captain Cook," it is a well authenticated fact that he was slain with a spear. The command now devolved upon Captain Clerke, whose ill health seriously affected the future movements of the expedition. The loss of Cook was a calamity. Clerke sailed in March, with the design of pushing still further eastward in the North Sea, and, if possible, passing by that route into the Atlantic. On his way he entered the Bay of Avatscha, and cast anchor in the Harbor of Petropaulovski, the chief settlement of Kamtschatka. The Russian officials received the visitors with great courtesy, being glad of an opportunity to learn of the geographical discoveries the Englishmen had made. The voyage was then resumed, but ignorance of the climatic peculiarities of the Arctic region had led him to undertake the passage too early in the Spring. The consequence was that he was prevented by ice from progressing even as far as the season before, and returned to Petropaulovski with the conviction that no northern passage existed between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Being in ill health, Clerke lay at anchor in the Russian harbor until the twenty-second of August, when he died. The command of the expedition then devolved upon Lieutenant John Gore, who sailed at once for England by the way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope, deeming his vessels unfit to encounter another season in the Arctic.

The object of going to Canton was to dispose of a large collection of furs both the men and officers had made, chiefly by trading for them with the natives of Nootka Sound. They had not been purchased for market, nor had they been selected according to their commercial value, and many had been rendered unsalable by being used for clothing and beds. It was only when the Russians offered a large price for them that they realized the value of what they possessed; but as the traders had inadvertently told them what great profits they made by shipping furs to Canton, they declined



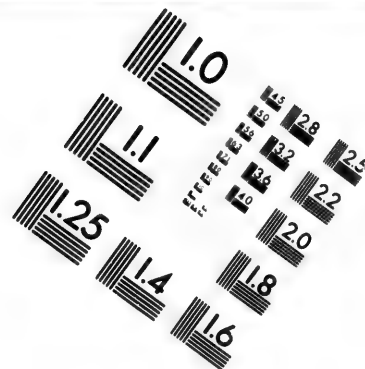
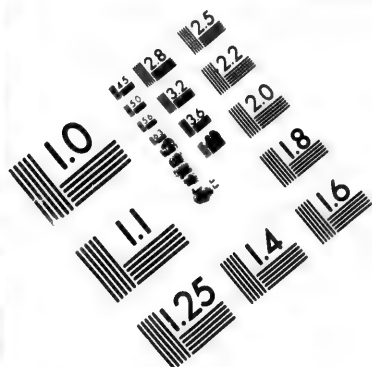
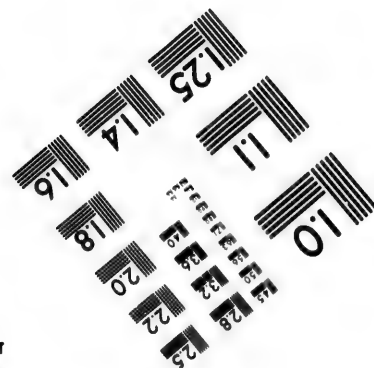
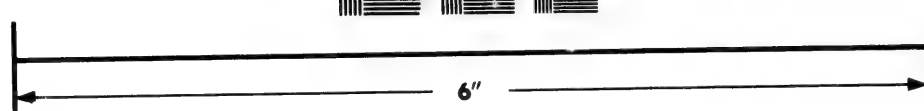
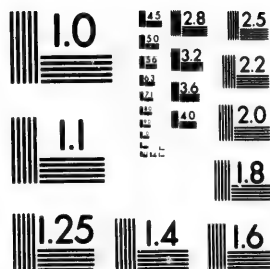


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to sell, preferring to take them to the better market. For this miscellaneous collection of furs the Chinese paid them \$10,000. The men became excited at the prospect. The thought of returning to England without engaging for a time in the fur trade made them rebellious, notwithstanding they had been afloat over three years. As the narrative of the voyage says, they became "possessed with a rage to return to the northern coast, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, which was, at one time, not far from mutiny." The rebellious crew was reduced to subordination, and the homeward voyage was resumed.

It was early in October, 1780, that the *Resolution* and *Discovery* reached England, after an absence of four years and three months, during which time the country had been engaged in war with her American colonies and her two immemorial enemies across the channel. Cook and his expedition had almost become forgotten in the excitement of current events, and the return of the vessels with intelligence of the death of the two senior commanders and of the geographical discoveries which had been made, was an unexpected surprise. Until the complications of war were removed, England had neither time nor inclination to attempt further discoveries or plant new colonies, and so the Lords of Admiralty pigeon-holed the official record of the voyage, to be published after the conclusion of peace. They could not seal the lips of the seamen, who scattered about the story of their adventures, and the wonderful profits to be gained in buying furs for nothing from the Indians on the American side of the Pacific, and selling them for a great deal to the Chinese on the Asiatic side. One of these seamen, John Ledyard, an American, endeavored to influence American and French capitalists in a fur enterprise, but unsuccessfully. He then conceived the idea of traveling around the world by way of Russia, Siberia, the Pacific and America. Having secured a passport from the Empress of Russia, he traveled as far as Irkutsk, when he was arrested, conducted to the Polish frontier and released upon the condition that he never again enter the empire. This arbitrary act is ascribed to the influence of the Russian fur monopoly, which did not relish the idea of foreigners prying into their business.

While Cook's vessels were lying at Hawaii, and only nine days before the famous commander was killed, another Spanish expedi-

tion sailed on a voyage of discovery in the North Pacific. This was not caused by Cook's movements, for the Spanish authorities were unaware of his presence in the Pacific, but was the result of the government's desire to examine the northern regions more critically than Bodega and Heceta had done. After three years of preparation the *Princess* and *Favorita* sailed—the former commanded by Ignacio Arteaga and the latter by Bodega and Maurelle. The route of the vessels was much the same as that traversed by Bodega and Cook, and nothing of importance was noticed which had not been seen by those explorers. When they observed the coast-line beyond Mount St. Elias to trend westward, they began searching for the Straits of Anian, as had Cook the year before, but were by no means as thorough as the English navigator had been. Arteaga lacked the quality of perseverance under disappointment and hardships which is so necessary to the successful explorer, and discouraged by his want of success, and frightened by the appearance of scurvy symptoms among his crew, ordered the vessels back to San Blas. Instead of being reprimanded for the superficial nature of his explorations, his faulty observations and useless charts, he and his associates were rewarded by promotion. Spain was now well satisfied of the extent and value of the coast to the north, but being involved in war was compelled to postpone any effort at colonization until her foreign complications were at an end.

CHAPTER VII.

SPAIN'S SUPREMACY IN THE PACIFIC OVERTHROWN.

The Russian-American Trading Company—France sends La Perouse to the Pacific—James Hanna makes the First Voyage in the Fur Trade from England—England's Short-sighted Policy of Granting Monopoly Charters—The East India Company and South Sea Company—Their Conflicting Interests Leads to the Organization of the King George's Sound Company—Belief that North America above Latitude 49° was an Archipelago of Huge Islands—First Voyage of Captain Meares—His Terrible Winter on the Alaskan Coast—Captain Barclay Discovers the Straits of Fuca—Meares Engages in the Fur Trade under the Portuguese Flag—He Builds the Schooner "Northwest America" at Nootka Sound—Explores the Straits of Fuca—His Unsuccessful Search for the Rio de San Roque—Deception Bay and Cape Disappointment—The United States Enters the Contest for Control of the Pacific Coast—The "Columbia Rediviva" and "Lady Washington"—The Latter Attacked by Indians, and the Former Supplies Spain with an Opportunity to Promulgate her Doctrine of Exclusive Rights in the Pacific—Martinez sent to Explore the Coast and Investigate the Russians—His Report of Russian Operations Causes Spain to Send a Remonstrance to the Empress—Martinez Fortifies Nootka and Takes Possession in the Name of the King of Spain—He Seizes the "Iphigenia" and "Northwest America"—Colnett and Hudson arrive in the "Argonaut" and "Princess Royal"—Are made Prisoners by Martinez and sent to Mexico—The Prisoners Released and Vessels Restored—Controversy between England and Spain Terminated by the Nootka Convention—Stipulations of the Treaty Displease both Parties.

THE first to avail themselves of the discoveries made by Cook were the Russians. They were not embroiled in war with any nation contending for supremacy in America, nor with any other

power which could attack their Pacific possessions. Cook's voyage opened their eyes to the nature and value of the fur regions, and they resolved to enter deeply into that which they had been simply skimming for forty years. The Russian-American Trading Company was organized in 1781. Two years later three vessels were sent from Petropaulovski, to establish stations on the islands and main land as far east as Prince William's Sound. Three years were consumed in this work. The hold Russia then took upon Alaska was not relaxed until that region was purchased by the United States nearly a century later (in 1867) for \$7,200,000.

The first official voyage made by the contending nations, after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, was sent out by France. In the winter of 1784-5 Cook's journal was published, and though the "yarns" of his sailors had been freely circulated, this was a revelation to the people, and caused much eagerness to be displayed to take advantage of the golden opportunity therein pointed out. The French government immediately dispatched a skillful and scientific navigator, named La Pérouse, with instructions to "explore the parts of the northwestern coast of America which had not been examined by Cook, and of which the Russian accounts gave no idea, in order to obtain information respecting the fur trade, and also to learn whether, in those unknown parts, some river or internal sea might not be found communicating with Hudson's Bay, or Baffin's Bay." La Pérouse sailed in 1785, and on the twenty-third of June, 1786, reached the American Coast in the vicinity of Mount Fairweather. After remaining several weeks at anchor, he proceeded slowly southward, minutely examining the coast, and discovering that the places where the English and Spanish explorers had formerly landed were not on the main land, but on a long range of islands which fringe the coast. For this important discovery he received no credit, as his vessels were wrecked in the New Hebrides on the return voyage, and his journal was not published for ten years, long after other explorers had discovered the same facts and made them known to the world.

The first successful venture in the fur trade was made by James Hanna, an Englishman, who sailed from the Portuguese East India port of Macao, in 1785, secured a load of furs at Nootka Sound, and disposed of them in China for \$20,000. The next year he

repeated the voyage, but found that other traders had arrived, whose competition prevented the securing of a good cargo; also, that the Chinese market was glutted with this avalanche of furs. There was no profit in the business that year. England adopted an extremely short-sighted policy in her treatment of the Pacific question, and surrendered her claims into the hands of private monopolies. A century before, eager to discover the long-sought Northwest Passage, she chartered the Hudson's Bay Company, granting it almost royal power, and conferring upon it absolute dominion in that vast region whose waters fall into Hudson's Bay. Two centuries have gone by and it is still a wilderness. In her anxiety to command the commerce of the Pacific, and plant her foot on the western shore of America, she again committed the fatal error of delegating her powers to private and selfish monopolies. At that time the East India Company was already firmly established in India, and had laid well the foundation of that power which has since added the title of "Empress of the Indies" to the crown of England. To this gigantic corporation was granted the monopoly of all trade with the ports of Asia and adjacent islands—all other subjects of Great Britain being prohibited from trading under severe penalties. A new association, called the "South Sea Company," was chartered, upon which was conferred the exclusive privilege of trade on the American Coast. Thus was the whole commerce of the Pacific, so far as England was concerned, given into the hands of two corporations, and all other subjects of Great Britain, no matter how eager they might be to embark in the fur trade and explore the unknown mysteries of the great South Sea, were debarred from so doing. No English ships could pass around Cape Horn save those of the South Sea Company, while the ensign of the powerful East India Company must fly at the mast-head of every British vessel that doubled the Cape of Good Hope. It was of course the supposition that these two corporations, being rich and powerful, would at once embark in the fur trade on an extensive scale, and, as the representatives of the British crown, would lay as broad and deep a foundation for English power on the American Coast and the Islands of the Pacific, as one of them had already done in the land of the Brahmins. Such was not the case, owing primarily to the conflicting

interests of the two companies. The great fur market was China, but from the ports of that company the ships of the South Sea Company were debarred by the exclusive trade privileges of the rival association. Nor was the East India Company more happily situated; with complete control of England's commerce in Asiatic ports, it was excluded from the fur-producing coast of America. One controlled the source of supply and the other the market, and neither could accomplish anything. The chasm between the rival companies was bridged by the organization of a third one—the King George's Sound Company. This association was formed in 1785, and was granted special permits from both monopolies, enabling it to embark in the Pacific fur trade under favorable auspices. Two vessels were dispatched by this company, the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*, commanded by Captains Portlock and Dixon. They traded two years without paying expenses, the Chinese market having been flooded by this sudden shower of fur. Two other vessels sent the next year by the same company, and which reached Nootka in 1787, prior to the return of Portlock and Dixon to England, were equally unsuccessful, and the South Sea Company suddenly collapsed. Shares in the company, which it had formally taken fortunes to purchase, were thrown into the street, and the projectors of the enterprise barely escaped the rude clutches of a mob. The South Sea Bubble was completely burst.

These traders, in passing up and down the coast, learned what La Pérouse had discovered two years before—that all points north of Nootka yet visited by traders and explorers, were but islands and not portions of the main land. The former Russian idea of the region occupied by them was revived, and extended to embrace the whole northern portion of America. It was conceived that not a continent, but an immense archipelago of islands occupied that region, and that through the channels separating them it was possible to reach the Atlantic. This idea was also supported two years later by Captain Meares, who assigned as one of his reasons for holding the belief, that “the channels of this archipelago were found to be wide and capacious, with near two hundred fathoms deep of water, and huge promontories stretching out into the sea, where whales and sea-otters were seen in incredible abundance. In some of these channels there are islands of ice, which we may venture to

say could never have formed on the western side of America, which possesses a mild and moderate climate; so that their existence can not be reconciled to any other idea, than that they received their formation in the eastern seas, and have been drifted by the tides and currents through the passage for whose existence we are contending." He was not aware that the Alaska glaciers were constantly dropping frozen offerings into the sea. A few years later Captain Vancouver demonstrated the fallacy of this theory, and gave us the first correct idea of the American continent with its coast fringe of islands.

In 1786 the great East India Company, either having made some commercial arrangement with the South Sea Company, or purposely infringing upon the chartered rights of the rival organization, dispatched two small vessels to the American Coast for furs. They met with sufficient success to encourage the company to engage in the business on a larger scale; consequently, two vessels were fitted out, the *Nootka* and *Sea-Otter*, in 1787, and dispatched to Nootka Sound, which was then the objective point of all fur traders. The former was under the command of Captain John Meares, a former lieutenant of the royal navy, and the latter by Lieutenant Walter Tipping.

The *Sea-Otter* followed the Japan Current until she reached the Aleutian Islands, and then coasting along eastward arrived at Prince William's Sound. Thus far was she traced by her consort, but beyond that point her movements never were known, nor was she ever heard from again. She was probably swamped in mid ocean, for had she been wrecked on the coast some traces of her would have been discovered by the natives and reported to the traders. The *Nootka* followed the same general course, and came to anchor in Prince William's Sound about the first of October, Captain Meares designing to spend the winter in that port and resume the voyage along the coast in the spring. Unacquainted with the climatic conditions, he had selected a place sufficiently removed from the path of the Japan Current and its branches to be practically beyond its influences, and thus a place where all the rigors of an Arctic winter prevailed. During October, November and even December, the climate was generally pleasant and always endurable, but there suddenly came a change. All the chilling winds of the Borean cave

were unchained, and howled about the vessel, which was soon bound in icy fetters and buried beneath the drifting snow. The migratory Indians disappeared in search of a more agreeable abode, and were quickly followed by all animal and aquatic life. The sun hid its face, save for a few moments at midday, when it seemed to raise its head above the horizon to cast a derisive glance upon the sufferers, and then quickly disappeared. Meares' journal says: "Tremendous mountains forbade almost a sight of the sky, and cast their nocturnal shadows over the ship in the midst of day." Deprived of proper food and exercise, the imprisoned crew were quickly attacked with scurvy, whose horrible ravages it was impossible to check. Twenty-three died during the four months of their imprisonment, while the others were rendered so feeble as to be unfit to perform duty. At last, in May, the ice released the vessel from its confining grasp; animals and birds returned, the natives again appeared, and won to health and strength by fresh food and the invigorating rays of the sun, the afflicted crew were soon ready to resume the voyage. Discouraged by his terrible experience, and rendered short-handed by the death of so many of his seamen, Meares sailed in June for the Sandwich Islands, and from there proceeded to China. Discouraged by these two disastrous voyages, the East India Company abandoned the Pacific fur trade and confined its attention to the enormous commerce of India.

Another vessel was engaged in the fur trade in 1787, the *Imperial Eagle*, belonging to the Austrian East India Company, and commanded by Captain Barclay, or Berkeley, an Englishman whose name is perpetuated in Barclay Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Nothing is remarkable in connection with this voyage but the discovery of what was then believed to be the much sought and generally uncredited Straits of Fuca, only a few miles north of the location assigned by the old Greek pilot to the passage he claimed to have entered. This Barclay observed while passing southward across the entrance; but he made no effort to explore it, simply entering its location upon his chart. He continued his course, and at the mouth of a small river just above the Isla de Dolores, where Bodega had lost a portion of his crew a few years before at the hands of the natives, sent a boat's crew ashore, who met a similar fate to that which had befallen their Spanish prede-

cessors. In commemoration of the sad event he christened the ill-fated place "Destruction River," a title which was later, by one of those errors incident to map making, transferred to the adjacent island.

When Captain Meares returned to China from his unfortunate winter in Prince William's Sound, he did not, like the East India Company, abandon the fur trade; on the contrary, he entered into it on his own responsibility. In order to avoid the restriction placed upon British subjects by the charters Parliament had granted the two great monopolies, he entered into a commercial arrangement with Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of Macao, a port near Canton belonging to the crown of Portugal. Two vessels were fitted out and commissioned by the Portuguese Governor of Macao, nominally belonging to Señor Cavallo, and having Portuguese captains named in their shipping papers. Nominally, Meares went in the ship *Felice Adventurer* as supercargo, though actually in command; and William Douglas occupied the same position in the *Iphigenia Nubiana*. A double purpose was served by thus clothing the enterprise with Portuguese apparel, as special privileges were enjoyed by the subjects of that nation in the ports of China. Just what interest Cavallo and the two nominal captains had in the enterprise is uncertain; for Meares, as long as his interests lay in that direction, asserted that the undertaking was purely a Portuguese one, but when circumstances placed the balance of interest on the other side, as strenuously asserted that he alone was the owner and manager of the enterprise. The *Iphigenia* sailed for Cook's Inlet, where she was to begin operations, and trade southward along the coast until she reached Nootka Sound and united with her consort. The *Felice* headed for Nootka direct, where she arrived early in the spring of 1788. Immediately upon reaching that general rendezvous of the fur trade, Meares began the construction of a small schooner for the purpose of coasting along the shore to trade with the Indians. He secured from Maquinna, the chief, permission to erect a small house to shelter his men while at work upon the craft, the consideration for this privilege being a brace of pistols and the house and contents when he should finally depart from that region. Leaving his builders at work, the house having been erected and encompassed by a rampart of earth, from which frowned the rusted

mouth of a diminutive cannon, Meares sailed down the coast in search of the passage reported by Barclay as having been seen by him the year before. June 29, 1788, he observed a broad inlet in latitude $48^{\circ} 39'$. Though in the introduction to his narrative he states that the observations of Captain Barclay were known to him, in the journal itself he takes the full credit of the discovery, saying:—"The coast along which we were now sailing had not been seen by Captain Cook, and we know of no other navigator said to have been this way except Maurelle." He continues: "From the mast-head it was observed to stretch to the east by the north, and a clear and unbounded horizon was seen in this direction as far as the eye could reach. The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer, John de Fuca." The mate of the *Felice*, John Duffin, was dispatched with a boat's crew of thirteen men and a month's provisions, to explore the strait. In a week they returned, all of them having been wounded in a conflict with the natives. Ten miles up the passage (according to Duffin's statement, but thirty as given by Meares), they were fiercely attacked by Indians, who fought with great desperation and seemed not to be intimidated by either the noise or deadly effect of the guns. Their weapons were clubs, arrows, stone bludgeons, spears and slings, all of which they handled with great skill. So fierce was their onslaught and so effectively did they use their weapons that only to the protection afforded the seamen by the boat's awning was due their escape with their lives.

Having found Fuca's Strait, or one which he believed to be the passage spoken of by Lock, he sailed southward in search of the Río de San Roque of the Spaniard Heceta. On the sixth of July he discovered a promontory which he believed to be the one Heceta had named "Cabo de San Roque." He describes his subsequent movements as follows:

After we had rounded the promontory a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into it we steered with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat, level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck right ahead, and, from the mast-head, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any point. The name of "Cape Disappoint-

ment" was given to the promontory (Cape Hancock), and the bay obtained the title of "Deception Bay." * * * We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of St. Roe exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts. To those of Maurelle (Bodega's pilot) we made continual reference, but without deriving any information or assistance from them. We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us, and, being almost certain that there we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore for a distant headland, keeping our course within two miles of the shore.

The distant headland he named "Cape Lookout," it being the one called "Cape Falcon" by the Spaniards, and now known as "Tillamook Head."

Meares then returned to Nootka, having, as he expressed it, "traced every part of the coast which unfavorable weather had prevented Captain Cook from approaching." The *Iphigenia* soon arrived from the north with a large cargo of furs. The little schooner being now completed, she was launched and christened the *Northwest America*. She was the first vessel constructed on the Pacific Coast north of Mexico. About this time appeared two American vessels, the *Columbia Rediviva*, commanded by Captain John Kendrick, and the *Lady Washington*, by Captain Robert Gray. The new-born republic of the United States, as soon as a treaty of peace was signed, began at once to resume those maritime commercial ventures which the war with England had suspended. American vessels visited the ports of every country, and the whale fishing around Cape Horn, which had been abruptly terminated, was resumed.

In 1784 an American vessel entered the harbor of Canton, and in 1787 five vessels were engaged in the China trade. Untrammelled with the commercial restrictions which Parliament had imposed upon British subjects, they could engage in the fur trade with every prospect of success. It was for this purpose the *Columbia Rediviva* and *Lady Washington*, two names now so intimately associated with this region, had started from Boston with a load of Indian goods, and had come to anchor in Nootka Sound. Their voyage thither had not been unattended with adventure. In January, soon after passing Cape Horn, a severe storm separated the two consorts. The *Washington* continued the voyage and reached the Oregon Coast in August, where, near the forty-sixth parallel, Captain Gray ran his vessel aground in attempting to enter an opening in the land, which he had explored in a boat and believed

to be the entrance to the great River of the West. While in this position the ship was attacked by Indians, and in repelling them and getting the craft into deep water again, one man was killed and the mate wounded. This place he called "Murderer's Harbor," and is considered by Greenhow to have been the mouth of the Columbia, and by Bancroft as Tillamook Bay. Captain Gray then proceeded to Nootka Sound, where lay the three vessels belonging to Meares, his appearance being a great surprise to the Englishmen. The *Columbia* was damaged by the storm which had driven the two vessels apart near Cape Horn, and entered the Spanish port on the Island of Juan Fernandez to repair damages. The commandant, Don Blas Gonzales, treated Captain Kendrick with great courtesy and hospitality, for which he was promptly cashiered by the Captain-General of Chile, and this action was approved by the Viceroy of Peru. From the position taken by Spain in the sixteenth century, she had never in the least degree receded. She still claimed complete dominion of the west coast of America, and the sole right of trade with all regions approachable by the way of Cape Horn. In 1692, nearly a century before, a royal ordinance had been promulgated, decreeing that foreign vessels of every nation, irrespective of the relations existing between those nations and Spain, should be seized wherever found in Pacific waters, unless they possessed a trading license from the government of Spain. The commandant at Juan Fernandez was informed that he should have enforced this ordinance and seized the *Columbia*, and the authorities of all the Spanish Pacific ports were then specially instructed to carry out the decree to the letter. Not only was this done, but the Viceroy dispatched a cruiser from Callao to overtake and capture the *Columbia*. In this it was unsuccessful, and Captain Kendrick reached Nootka unmolested. Soon after the arrival of the two American vessels, Captain Meares loaded all his furs upon the *Felice* and sailed for China; the *Iphigenia* and *Northwest America* soon after departing for the Sandwich Islands to spend the winter. The *Columbia* and *Washington* remained at anchor in Nootka Sound until spring.

The sight of these English and American vessels venturing into the Pacific—and those spoken of above were by no means the only ones, since several exploring expeditions traversed the South Pacific whose work had no particular bearing upon the history of this

region—admonished Spain that if she would maintain her supremacy she must be up and doing. While she, in her sluggish nature, had been content with an occasional superficial exploration, productive of little information of value to her or the rest of the world, these foreigners were boldly infringing her prerogative and skimming the rich cream of the fur trade. The northern limit of actual Spanish occupation was then at the Bay of San Francisco, and the authorities determined to extend it still further without delay. This resulted in the dispatching of an expedition for the purpose of selecting suitable locations for several Spanish colonies, as well as to ascertain the extent and character of the Russian settlements in the extreme north. The fleet consisted of the *Princesa*, commanded by Estivan Martinez, former pilot of Juan Perez, and the *San Carlos*, under the command of Lieutenant Gonzalo Haro.

On the eighth of March, 1788, the fleet sailed from San Blas and cast anchor in Prince William's Sound on the twenty-fifth of May. There they lay inactive for nearly a month. The Spanish idea of exploration was very peculiar. While the English officers examined carefully every bay and inlet, took frequent observations and soundings, and prepared careful charts of their course and discoveries, the representatives of Spain seem to have been satisfied with an occasional sight of the coast, and their map making consisted of the drawing of a straight line on a piece of paper, with an occasional cape or bay marked upon it. Their maps of this region were certainly very peculiar. In June the *San Carlos* sailed towards the southwest, and encountering a Russian trading post upon the Island of Kodiak, Haro interrogated the man in charge as to the number and condition of the Russian settlements in America. With the information thus obtained he sailed again to Prince William's Sound to join his superior. Meanwhile Martinez had made a few superficial explorations of the Sound, to drive away the ennui. The two vessels then proceeded to Ounalaska and their officers were hospitably entertained by the Russian traders for an extended period. With the knowledge thus acquired of the Russian settlements, Martinez returned with his fleet to San Blas. He reported that there were eight settlements in Alaska, all of them west of Prince William's Sound, while another was about to be established in the vicinity of the Sound itself. These were chiefly occupied by natives

of Siberia and Kamtchatka, all subjects of the Russian Crown. He also reported that he had been informed of two Russian vessels which had been sent to effect a settlement at Nootka, and of two others under construction at Ochotsk to be used for a similar purpose.

The information thus gained by Martinez was forwarded to Madrid, and the Spanish Court was much agitated by the disclosure of Russian encroachment upon what were considered the dominions of Spain. Her settlements were already sufficiently extensive to give her undisputed title to Alaska, and she was now threatening to extend her colonies far to the southward. The infringement of English and American fur traders upon the commercial rights of Spain was annoying enough, but here was a positive and imminent danger of being supplanted entirely. The government determined to take a firm stand, to meet the crisis and ward off the impending blow. A remonstrance was sent to the Empress of Russia, calling attention to the encroachments of her subjects upon the dominions of Spain in the Pacific, to which the Empress responded that her subjects were acting in accordance with her express instructions not to invade the territory of other powers. As neither communication stated what the corresponding powers considered the limit of their claims in America, the diplomatic interchange settled neither the question nor the intent of the two sovereign powers.

Meanwhile active operations were undertaken by the Mexican Viceroy. Early in 1789 Martinez and Haro were ordered to sail for Nootka in the *Princesa* and *San Carlos*, and to take possession of that port in the name of Spain. Their instructions were to treat foreigners courteously, but at all hazards to maintain the right and authority of Spain in this region. On the sixth of May the *Princesa* reached her destination, finding two vessels lying there at anchor, the *Columbia* and *Iphigenia*. Only a few days before, the *Iphigenia*, Captain Douglas, and the little *Northwest America*, Captain Robert Funter, had arrived from their winter's sojourn at the Sandwich Islands, still carrying the Portuguese flag at their masts. They reached port in a condition of exhaustion, so far as supplies were concerned. From the natives and the American vessels enough supplies and articles of barter were procured to enable the little schooner to leave port upon a cruise along the coast in

search of furs, and she accordingly took her departure. Captain Gray also started out upon a similar errand in the *Lady Washington*, meeting the *Princesa* just without the harbor. Immediately upon entering the port, Martinez informed Captains Douglas and Kendrick that he had come to take possession in the name of his sovereign, examined their papers, and then landed and began the erection of fortifications on Hog Island, a commanding position in the bay, calling the port "Santa Cruz de Nootka." No objections were made either by the Americans or the English officers of the *quasi* Portuguese vessel, and everything appeared satisfactory and harmonious. Apparently it was the intention of the Spanish commandant to seize the *Iphigenia*, as subsequent events indicate, but his action was delayed for prudential reasons. On the thirteenth, Haro arrived in the *San Carlos*, and the next day, deeming his force now sufficiently strong, he summoned Douglas and Viana, the actual and nominal captains of the *Iphigenia*, on board the *Princesa*, to have their papers again inspected. This time the documents were not as satisfactory as he had previously found them. He took exceptions to the clause in their instructions requiring the officers to capture any Spanish vessels which might interfere with them, and carry their crews to Macao, to be tried for piracy. He considered a vessel sailing under such instructions a lawful prize as soon as she entered a Spanish port. In vain it was urged that the instructions were only to apply to such vessels as might unjustifiably attack them, and were purely defensive in their nature; the Spanish officer refused to view the matter in that light, and put them under arrest, sending a force to take possession of the brig and raise the Spanish flag. Twelve days later, having had plenty of time to reflect and becoming convinced that the objectionable clause was not of as hostile a nature as he had at first assumed to believe it, and fearing that he had overstepped the bounds of prudence, he released the brig and restored his prisoners to their liberty. He also furnished all the supplies needed for a voyage to the Sandwich Islands, taking in exchange drafts upon Juan Cavallo, the nominal Portuguese owner of the vessel. He also secured the signatures of Douglas and Viana to a certificate that he had found the vessel in distress, had furnished her with necessary supplies, and had not interfered with her voyage. This certificate Douglas afterwards claimed to be un-

true; that he had signed it under duress, at the urgent solicitation of his men, in order to secure the release of his vessel, and that the brig had been plundered by her captors. That this was not the case was attested by a letter signed by Captain Gray and Joseph Ingraham, mate of the *Columbia*, and, further, by the fact that, although ostensibly bound for the Sandwich Islands, Douglas turned northward as soon as he was out of sight, and engaged in a season of highly profitable traffic along the coast.

The certificate was not the only paper Douglas signed to procure his release and supplies. He entered into a written agreement to restore the *Iphigenia* or pay her value, in case the Viceroy of Mexico should decide the capture to have been lawful. Martinez desired to possess the little schooner, and having her value appraised by the Americans, requested Douglas to sell her at that price. He was told that no one there had the authority to dispose of the vessel, but he insisted. Douglas therefore gave him a letter to Captain Funter, which Martinez supposed to be an order for her delivery, but which was simply a note informing the commander of the little craft of the Spanish officer's wishes, and intimating that he might follow his own inclinations. He then set sail at once, fearful his duplicity would be discovered, and made the voyage previously alluded to. When the *Northwest America* arrived on the ninth of June, Martinez seized her, claiming to do so by right of his agreement with Captain Douglas.

Meanwhile, two other vessels were on their way to Nootka. Meares, when he reached China the fall before, succeeded in making a pooling arrangement with the representative of the King George's Sound Company; and as that company possessed trading licenses from both the East India Company and South Sea Company, there was no necessity for longer maintaining the Portuguese subterfuge. The two vessels of the company were combined with the three belonging to Meares. The *Prince of Wales* had been sent to England, leaving the *Princess Royal* still in China. This vessel was placed under the command of Captain Thomas Hudson, and the *Felice* having been sold and the *Argonaut* purchased, Captain Colnett assumed command of the latter. The last named gentleman was given charge of the expedition, since Meares remained in China, and was instructed to establish a permanent station on

the American Coast, to be called "Fort Pitt." A small vessel, to be launched upon arrival and used for the coasting trade, formed part of the cargo, and seventy Chinamen were taken along to be employed at the new settlement. According to Spanish authority, the Chinese passengers claimed they had embarked for Bengal, and not America. What became of them after the subsequent troubles there is no evidence to indicate.

The two vessels sailed from China, one in April and the other in May—the *Princess Royal* being the first. She cast anchor in Nootka Sound just five days after the seizure of the *Northwest America*. As she brought intelligence of the bankruptcy of Cavallo, the reputed owner of the little schooner, Martinez decided to retain personal possession of the craft to indemnify himself for the unpaid bills drawn upon the insolvent Portuguese by Captain Douglas. He accordingly changed her name to *Gertrudis*, and placing her in charge of David Coolidge, mate of the *Lady Washington*, sent her out on a trading cruise on the joint account of himself and the Americans, with whom he had been on the most friendly terms. The furs which had been collected were turned over to Captain Hudson, with whom he did not interfere. By this time the Americans had decided to send one of their vessels to China with the furs which had been collected, and from there to Boston to report the condition of affairs. Accordingly, Captains Gray and Kendrick exchanged vessels, the former sailing for China in the *Columbia*. Martinez availed himself of this opportunity, and placed the crew of the captured schooner on board and sent them to China.

On the second of July the *Princess Royal* sailed on a trading voyage; the next day passing the *Argonaut* just outside the harbor without communicating with her. Captain Colnett was informed of what had happened by parties who had gone out to meet him in a boat, and decided to anchor outside. Martinez came out and in the most friendly manner invited him to enter the harbor, assuring him of perfect security, and as Colnett afterward stated in a narrative of his voyages, urgently solicited him to do so for the purpose of supplying provisions and other necessities to the Spaniards, who were in great distress. Won by the cordial appearance of the invitation, Colnett assented, and the *Argonaut* was towed into port by Spaniards. There is no reason to suppose that it was not the inten-

tion of Martinez to treat the *Argonaut* with the same courtesy he had shown to the *Princess Royal*, when he invited Colnett to enter port, but his conduct underwent a rapid transformation when he learned from that officer that he was instructed to found a fortified English colony. He at once informed the English Captain that he had already taken possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, and could not permit any such proceeding. The next day Colnett went on board the *Princesa* and requested permission to sail immediately, which was refused, since the Spanish commandant feared it was the Englishman's purpose to seek some other port in which to establish himself, and his duty to his government required that he prevent such a consummation at all hazards. He asked Colnett to exhibit his papers, and the Englishman returned to his vessel, arrayed himself in full uniform, sword included, and then again presented himself in the cabin of the *Princesa*, with the papers in his hand. The papers were examined, and Colnett was informed that he would not be permitted to sail just yet, whereat he fell into a passion and a quarrel ensued, resulting in the arrest of the captain and the seizure of his vessel.

Ten days later the *Princess Royal* returned, her commander being ignorant of what had happened during his brief absence, and was at once seized by the Spaniards. A portion of the furs captured were given to Captain Gray to pay the passage to China of the crew of the *Northwest America*. The officers and men of the *Argonaut* and *Princess Royal* were placed on board the former and sent to San Blas. In September, Martinez and Haro, in obedience to instructions from Mexico, dismantled the fortifications and departed from Nootka; and as the *Lady Washington* was away upon a coasting voyage, that bone of contention was left without a claimant.

So prostrated was Captain Colnett with the severity and suddenness of his misfortunes that he became temporarily insane, recovering, however, before he reached San Blas. The commandant at that port was the well known explorer Bodega y Quadra, and he received the two captains with the greatest of courtesy, sending them to Mexico to lay their case before the Viceroy, Revilla-Gigedo. After considerable delay it was officially decided that Martinez, though only following his special instructions and the royal

decrees, had overstepped the bounds of prudence. The prisoners were accordingly released, and were paid the regular wages of the Spanish navy for the whole time of their captivity. The *Argonaut*, which, with the other two prizes, had been maintained in active service, was restored to Colnett, rather the worse for wear. He sailed in her for Nootka in the spring of 1790, and not finding his other vessel there, set out in search of her, not obtaining possession till a year later at the Sandwich Islands. During all these occurrences the Americans were on the most friendly terms with the Spaniards, so much so that they were accused of co-operating with them against the English. The facts are that they were inactive, though not entirely disinterested spectators, since it naturally pleased them to see their rivals so summarily disposed of; and it is not impossible that they occasionally dropped a hint into the commandant's ear. Captain Kendrick remained on the coast till fall, collecting a large cargo of furs, and then sailed for Boston by the way of China. It is claimed by some historians that before leaving he sailed clear around Vancouver Island, and Meares' chart bears an indication of the route pursued. This chart is of itself evidence that the maker of it was ignorant of the nature of the inland channel, and the probabilities are that Meares misunderstood Kendrick's account of the movements of the *Lady Washington* while under the command of Captain Gray, and confusing them with Kendrick's assertion that there was a channel back of Nootka, a piece of information gleaned from the Indians, supposed that such a voyage had been made. Although it is possible that he did circumnavigate the island, yet it seems improbable, and Kendrick never laid claim to such distinction in after years. If he did, then an American vessel was the first to enter the Straits of Fuca and explore that wonderful inland sea, the Gulf of Georgia; if not, then the honor belongs to Spain, as will be shown later on.

So much for the events at Nootka; but there was a greater field of action on which these differences were decided—Europe. The Viceroy of New Spain made haste to notify the home government of the important events which had happened in the far-off Pacific. It took a long time for news to travel in those days, when there were no telegraphs and no regular routes of intelligence between these distant shores and Europe; consequently Spain, which was

in the most intimate connection with the Pacific Coast, received the news long before it reached England. The first intelligence received by the British Cabinet was an arrogant and very undiplomatic note from Spain, on the tenth of February, 1790, notifying the King that certain of his subjects had been trespassing upon the Pacific possessions of Spain, and that in consequence of this the ship *Argonaut* had been seized as a prize and her crew made prisoners. The note closed with an assertion of that exclusive right of Pacific traffic which Spain had proclaimed for a century, and the enforcement of which had led to the present complications; in pursuance of that idea the punishment of the offenders was demanded, and an earnest protest made against the King permitting any of his subjects to make settlements, or engage in fishing, or trade with the natives on the American Coast of the Pacific. To such haughty language the King of England was entirely unaccustomed. Great Britain never had even constructively admitted any of the exclusive privileges claimed by Spain, and she was not now likely to tamely submit to them when they were so arrogantly promulgated in justification of an outrage committed upon her subjects. The response was prompt and characteristic of that nation, whose vigilant guardianship of her citizens extends to the remotest corners of the earth. The Court of Madrid was notified that since it was evident from the Spanish protest that English subjects had been imprisoned and their property confiscated, full reparation must be made and satisfaction for the insult given, before the merits of the controversy would be considered at all. Spain, England and France were just beginning to recuperate from the effect of the struggles in which they had been engaged, and each of them was anxious to avoid further hostilities; yet the dignity of England required her to take a bold stand in defense of her subjects. The belligerent tone of her response set Spain at once to preparing for war, to avoid which she modified her demands considerably, notifying His Majesty that the restoration had already been made and the matter would be allowed to drop, if he would promise in future to keep his subjects away from the Spanish possessions.

This was the status of affairs in April, when Meares arrived from China. When the *Columbia* reached Canton, in the fall of 1789, with intelligence of the Nootka proceedings, Meares armed himself

with documents and depositions and embarked for London, to lay his grievances before the King. On the thirtieth of May he addressed a memorial to his sovereign, detailing the affair from his standpoint, and though it was full of misrepresentations, as has since been conclusively shown, it was adopted as the correct version by the government. From this report it seemed that three vessels had been seized, instead of one, and that Englishmen had taken possession of Nootka before the Spaniards, since Meares declared that the *North-west America* was an English vessel, and that when he built her he had established a permanent settlement on land purchased from the Nootka Chief, Maquinna. He did not inform the King that the little schooner had never flaunted any flag but that of Portugal, and that when the vessel was finished the building in which the workmen had lived was turned over to Maquinna in payment for the privilege of temporary occupation of the land, as had been agreed upon in the beginning. England, on the fifth of May, sent a reply to the second note from Spain, asserting that she was not prepared to admit the exclusive privileges claimed by Spain, but that she was prepared to protect her subjects, and would not consider the question at all until proper satisfaction had been given. On the sixteenth of May, England made a formal demand upon Spain for restitution of the captured vessels, indemnity for losses sustained (estimated by Meares at \$653,433), and full acknowledgement of the right of English subjects to trade in the Pacific, and to establish settlements at any points not already occupied by Spain. On the twenty-fifth the whole correspondence was laid by the King before Parliament, which had before been ignorant of it, and he was warmly applauded for his conduct and assured of support.

Spain's position was an exceedingly humiliating one. Even in her decline she had maintained the haughty spirit and arrogant assumption of superiority and exclusive rights which had first been asserted by those potent monarchs, Charles and Philip, but which now, with her fast waning power, she was not able to support by force of arms. England's vigorous preparations for war seriously alarmed her. She had too many unprotected colonies, dependencies from which she derived great revenues, to risk a war with a powerful maritime nation, whose operations, of course, would be chiefly directed against those vulnerable points. In the long negotiations

which followed she again modified her position, stating that she had no desire to claim any territory not justly hers, that the vessels had already been restored, and that she was willing to pay any damages which might be assessed against her by arbitrators to whom the case should be submitted. England was proud and overbearing, and putting aside equity, acted throughout as her interests seemed to indicate, conscious of her superior power. She assembled the greatest armament the nation had ever prepared, and was ready at a day's notice to make a descent upon the Spanish settlements in America. She even formed an alliance with Sweden and the Netherlands, in anticipation of the co-operation of France and Spain against her. It was a well-known fact that there existed a compact of mutual defense between the monarchs of France and Spain, both members of the Bourbon family, and it was natural for England to expect it to be fulfilled. The King of Spain formally called upon Louis XVI., of France, for the promised aid, and was assured that it would be given; but when the matter came before the National Assembly that body refused to sanction any increase of the military forces, and the King was powerless, for the spirit of that bloody revolution which broke out three years later had already banished absoluteism from the kingdom. The Assembly examined the treaty between England and Spain, investigated the question of Pacific discoveries, especially the alleged voyage of Juan de Fuca, of which no evidence could be found, and finally decided that the nation would stand on the defensive with Spain, but could not be relied upon for offensive operations. The national armament was therefore largely increased. It was now England's turn to come down from her high horse. She saw that France would be drawn into the war, and finding her new allies unreliable and that she could not well afford the enormous expense of a war, the preparations for which had already depleted her treasury, she adopted a more conciliatory tone, and her plenipotentiary submitted a proposition which was accepted by the representative of Spain. This was signed on the twenty-eighth of October, 1790, and is known as the "Nootka Convention."

By this treaty it was stipulated that all buildings and tracts of land on the northwest coast of America of which Spanish officers had dispossessed any British subjects, should be restored; that just

reparation should be made by both parties to the agreement for any acts of violence committed by the subjects of either of them upon the subjects of the other; that any property seized should be restored or compensated for; that subjects of Great Britain should not approach within ten leagues of any part of the coast already occupied by Spain; that north of that point both parties should have equal rights, as well as south of the limits of Spanish settlements in South America. The treaty met with violent opposition both in Spain and England, but was finally ratified and went into effect. The Spaniards looked upon it as a voluntary surrender of their hereditary rights acquired by the explorations and conquests of their ancestors; that formerly Spain possessed exclusive rights in the Pacific, which were now being surrendered to England without any compensation whatever. On the other hand, the opposition in England claimed that, whereas, formerly British subjects enjoyed the right of trade in every quarter of the globe, the Government had agreed by this treaty to surrender these rights in certain regions to Spain, and that England had agreed to restrict her settlements within certain limits where she had before asserted her privilege of settling colonies at any place not previously occupied. It seemed to both parties that valuable and immemorial rights had been surrendered without any compensation. Captain George Vancouver was appointed commissioner on the part of Great Britain to proceed to Nootka and execute that portion of the treaty which referred to the restoration of property, and the celebrated Bodega y Quadra was intrusted with the same duty on the part of Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUGET SOUND AND COLUMBIA RIVER DISCOVERED.

Explorations of Lieutenant Quimper in the Straits of Fuca—He takes Formal Possession for Spain—Elisa Explores the Straits of Fuca and Gulf of Georgia—Malaspina and Bustamante Search for the Straits of Anian—Kendrick Again Visits the Coast and Buys Land from the Indians—Gray Arrives in the Columbia and Winters at Clayoquot—Events of 1792—Spain makes a Last Effort to Explore the Disputed Region—Arrival of Vancouver's Expedition—He Examines the Oregon Coast—Searches in Vain for the Rio de San Roque—He Records his Unqualified Disbelief in such a River—Gray Builds the "Adventure" at Clayoquot—He Discovers the Columbia River—Vancouver Explores Puget Sound and Falls in with the Spaniards—He Examines the Coast Carefully—Meets Quadra at Nootka—Finds Him Prepared with Proofs to Sustain the Cause of Spain—They Fail to Agree on Terms—They Bestow their Names upon the Island of Vancouver and Quadra—Broughton Explores the Columbia—Vancouver Finishes His Explorations and Returns to England—The Nootka Question Settled and the Port Abandoned.

WHILE England and Spain were engaged in their belligerent controversy, the Viceroy of Mexico was busily employed in exploring the region under dispute. His object was two-fold—to learn if it was worth an effort to hold it, and if so, and Nootka had to be abandoned to the English, to find a desirable point south of that port for the foundation of a settlement. This he was doing without being aware of the status of affairs in Europe. To this end he dispatched a fleet in the spring of 1790, with instructions to again take possession of Nootka Sound, fortify and defend it—artillery and a company of soldiers were taken along for that purpose—and use it as a base of explorations. The fleet was under the command

of Lieutenant Francisco Elisa, and consisted of the *Concepcion*, *San Carlos* (*Filipino*) and the *Princesa Real*. A series of voyages was at once undertaken, some of them directed northward to gain information of the movements of the Russians. The most important was that of Lieutenant Alférez Manuel Quimper, in the *Princesa Real* (*Princess Royal*), which had not yet been restored to Captain Colnett. In the summer of 1790 he left Nootka and entered the Straits of Fuca, carefully examining both shores of the passage for the distance of one hundred miles. This was probably the first vessel to actually enter and explore the Straits of Fuca. He was also the discoverer of Puget Sound, into which he penetrated a short distance, and mistook it for an inlet, calling it "Enceñada de Caamaño." He was prevented from extending his explorations further in that direction by lack of time. He bestowed names upon many objects in that region, all of which now bear the titles afterward given them by Vancouver and others, except the main channel leading north, which he christened "Canal de Lopez de Haro." On the first of August he took formal possession of that region in the name of his sovereign, at Port Nuñez Gaona, now known as Neah Bay. He was prevented by head winds from returning to Nootka, and falling in with the *San Carlos*, which had been on a voyage to Alaska, the two vessels sailed for Monterey and San Blas. There was no other vessel in those waters in 1790, so far as is known, except the *Argonaut*, in which Captain Colnett was searching for the *Princess Royal*, as before stated.

In May, 1791, Elisa himself embarked in the *San Carlos*, which had returned to Nootka, and started out to make a complete reconnaissance of the coast from Mount St. Elias to Trinidad, accompanied by the *Santa Saturnina* (or *Horcasitas*), under José Maria Narvaez. They entered the Straits of Fuca, ascertained that Caamaño Inlet was an inland passage, which they did not enter, and explored the Gulf of Georgia as far north as latitude 50°, calling it "Gran Canal de Nuestra Señora del Rosario la Marinera." They bestowed many names, some of which are still retained as originally applied, such as "San Juan Archipelago," "Guemes," "Tejada" ("Texada") "Islands," and "Port Los Angeles." Other names which appear in his chart are still in use, but have in some manner been shifted to other objects than those to which they were

originally given, such as "Caamaño," "Fidalgo," "Rosario," "Cordoba," etc. Many passages leading inland were observed but not explored for lack of time; and this led him in his report to the Viceroy to say: "It appears that the oceanic passage so zealously sought for by foreigners, if there is one, can not be elsewhere than by this great channel."

The revival of interest in the almost forgotten romance of Maldonado, caused by the controversy between England and Spain, led the latter to make another effort to find those fabulous straits for which so many had searched in vain. The corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, under the command of Alejandro Malaspina and José de Bustamante y Guerra, had sailed upon a voyage of circumnavigation, and upon their arrival at Acapulco in the spring of 1791, were met by orders directing them to search for Maldonado's Straits of Anian. They sailed, and first sighted land on the twenty-third of June, near Mount Edgecumbe. The coast line in the vicinity of the fortieth parallel was carefully examined, and being satisfied that the passage he sought did not exist, Malaspina sailed southward and anchored in Nootka Sound on the thirtieth of August, about the time Elisa returned from the Gulf of Georgia. He soon sailed southward to California.

During 1791, while the Spaniards were making these explorations, the most complete and satisfactory ever accomplished by them, one French, nine English and seven American vessels were also in Pacific waters. As their objects were purely commercial, little of importance was accomplished by any of them in the line of new discoveries, though each added something to the increasing knowledge of the coast. No trouble occurred between them and the Spanish forces at Nootka. The Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo stated (*Informe, 131*): "Although various craft of England and the American Colonies frequented the adjacent coasts and ports, some of them entering Nootka, nothing occurred to cause unpleasantness or damage; and our new establishment was always respected by them, and provided with all that was needed by the other San Blas vessels, which brought at the same time the supplies for the presidios and missions of Alta California." Among these trading vessels was the *Lady Washington*, which had been transformed in a brig in China, in doing which Captain Kendrick, who was an easy-going,

procrastinating individual, had lost a season's trade. This year he was fairly successful in obtaining furs, and also in securing the purchase of a large tract of land from Chiefs Maquinna and Wicananish, for which he received written deeds, duly signed by the grantors with a cross. Copies of these deeds, which included practically the whole of Vancouver Island except that already claimed by the Spaniards, were forwarded to Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and filed in the public archives. The other American vessel of note was the *Columbia Rediviva*, which was again sent to the Pacific in the fall of 1790, arriving at the harbor of Clayoquot, on Vancouver Island, just north of the Straits of Fuca, in June, 1791. She was still under the command of Captain Robert Gray, her first officer being Robert Haswell, whose diary of the voyage, as well as of the previous one, at which time he was second mate of the *Lady Washington*, is one of the best and most reliable sources of information in regard to the events of those voyages and the complications at Nootka. Gray soon sailed for the Queen Charlotte Islands and engaged in trade with the natives for several months, exploring many inlets and channels. In latitude 54° 33', he entered a passage and sailed northeastward a distance of one hundred miles without finding an end. He then returned to the sea, supposing he had discovered the Rio de los Reyes of Admiral Fonté. He named one portion of it "Massacre Cove," because of the murder of second mate Caswell and two seamen by the natives. This supposed passage was Portland Inlet, through which runs the boundary separating British Columbia from Alaska. Not having collected a sufficient quantity of furs, owing to the number of vessels trading on the coast, Gray decided to spend the winter at Clayoquot. He accordingly anchored the *Columbia* in that harbor, built a house, mounted cannon upon it, and then began the construction of a small schooner, the frame of which he had brought from Boston. This place he called "Fort Defiance." Kendrick had, a few weeks before, been engaged in repairing the *Lady Washington*, at a point in the same harbor which he had christened "Fort Washington," but had departed for China soon after Gray's arrival.

The year 1792 was an important one in the history of the Northwest Coast. More discoveries were made and more important explorations carried on than in any year before or since. Spain,

England and the United States by sea, and a representative of the great Northwest Company by land, threw a flood of light upon the dark geography of the Coast. At least twenty-eight vessels visited this region, the majority of them to engage in the fur trade, representing France, Spain, Portugal, England and the United States. Passing by the majority of these without further mention, let us turn our attention to those which made valuable discoveries. These were the *Columbia*, under Captain Gray, two vessels under Captain Vancouver, and a small Spanish fleet.

Early in the spring of 1792, the Mexican Viceroy, not satisfied with the great discoveries made by Quimper, Elisa, Malaspina and Bustamante, made a last effort to determine the existence of the Northwest Passage and the desirability of contending further for the possession of Nootka. If there existed a navigable passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, then a station in that region would be invaluable to the interests of Spain; but if the continent was continuous, so that vessels must always enter the Pacific from the south, then an establishment in such a high latitude would not be sufficiently valuable to render a contest for its possession advisable. He, therefore, dispatched a vessel to search for the Rio de los Reyes in latitude 53°; two others to explore more fully the Straits of Fuca, and ascertain the exact nature of those many inland channels of the existence of which simply the previous explorers had reported; and a fourth to seek a desirable location along the coast of the main land south of the Straits of Fuca, where a station might be established in case the settlement at Nootka had to be abandoned and it was deemed necessary to have one in this region. At the same time Bodega y Quadra, who had been appointed commissioner to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty of Nootka, proceeded to that port to await the arrival of the representative of Great Britain. The first of these was the *Aranzazu*, commanded by Lieutenant Jacinto Caamaño, who minutely examined the Queen Charlotte Islands, sailed through the passage between them and the main land (entering by Dixon Channel, which he called "Entrada de Perez," in honor of the original discoverer), and made a comparatively accurate map of that region. The expedition to the Straits of Fuca consisted of the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, commanded by officers detailed from Malaspina's expedition, and supplied by him with

scientific instruments. They were commanded by Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdez, and arrived at Nootka on the twelfth of May, leaving that port for their field of action on the fourth of June. The fourth vessel was the *Princesa*. In this ship Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo sailed from San Blas on the twenty-third of March, and arrived at Port Nuñez Gaona (Neah Bay) just within the entrance to the Straits of Fuca, where he erected buildings and fortifications. In September, having received orders from Quadra to abandon this post, he removed everything to Nootka. Other Spanish vessels passed up and down between Nootka and Monterey, or San Blas, but their movements were immaterial.

The commissioner appointed on the part of England to carry into effect certain provisions of the Nootka Treaty, referring to the restoration of property at that port, was Captain George Vancouver, of the Royal Navy. The Admiralty took occasion to make his voyage one of extended discovery, directing his attention especially to the clearing up of geographical conundrums on the coast, particularly that of a river or any other inter-oceanic passage. Special attention was to be directed to the "supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop *Washington* is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again at the northward of Nootka." This voyage of the *Washington*, as has been already stated, was never made; Meares, who had carried the report to England, having confused Captain Kendrick's account of the movements of that vessel with geographical statements of the Indians. Vancouver commanded the sloop of war *Discovery*, and accompanied by the armed tender *Chatham*, under Lieutenant W. R. Broughton, sailed in March, 1791. It is needless to follow his movements for the first year, as they do not concern the purposes of this volume; it is sufficient to say that after a year of exploration in other regions, he arrived off the coast of California in April, 1792, in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino.

Here he began a most careful examination of the coast, strict watch being kept for signs of harbors and navigable rivers, especially at first of the river reported above the forty-third parallel by Martin de Aguilar in 1603. A point in latitude 42° 52' was at

first conceived to be the Cape Blanco of the Spaniards, but since it was composed of dark, craggy rocks, instead of being white, Vancouver entered it on his chart as "Cape Orford." A little further on, in latitude $43^{\circ} 23'$, he observed a cape with white cliffs, which he believed to be the true Blanco, but as he also considered it the one Captain Cook had called "Cape Gregory," he entered the latter name on his chart. For some distance he ranged along the shore within a league, looking carefully for Aguilar's River, but observed no stream having any such volume of water as was ascribed to the one reported by the Spaniard, and, indeed, saw none that offered the least indication of being navigable for ships. The next point of special interest to be examined was that in the vicinity of latitude 46° , where was located the place called "Ensenada de Heceta," or "Rio de San Roque," on his Spanish charts, and "Deception Bay" on the English ones. On the twenty-seventh of April he recorded in his journal:

Noon brought us up with a conspicuous point of land composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high and projecting into the sea. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land not indicating it to be of any great extent, nor did it seem to be accessible to vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south. On reference to Mr. Meares' description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first induced to believe it was Cape Shoalwater, but on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be what he calls Cape Disappointment; and the opening to the south of it Deception Bay. This cape was found to be in latitude $46^{\circ} 19'$, and longitude $236^{\circ} 6'$. [He reckoned east from Greenwich.] The sea now changed from its natural to river-coloured water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the N. W., being desirous to embrace the advantages of the prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favourable to our examination of the coast.

Vancouver rounded Cape Disappointment and continued up the shore. He says: "The country before us presented a most luxuriant landscape, and was probably not a little heightened in value by the weather that prevailed. The more interior parts were somewhat elevated, and agreeably diversified with hills, from which it gradually descended to the shore, and terminated in a sandy beach. The whole had the appearance of a continued forest extending north as far as the eye could reach, which made me very solicitous to find a port in the vicinity of a country presenting so delightful a prospect of fertility; our attention was therefore earnestly directed

to this object." At one time he was of the opinion that Shoalwater Bay presented a suitable harbor, but renounced the belief upon attempting to enter the bay and failing because of the presence of an unbroken line of breakers. They passed Gray's Harbor in the night, and after noting the position of Destruction Island and observing Mount Olympus, "the most remarkable mountain we had seen on the coast of New Albion," fell in with the *Columbia* a few miles south of the Straits of Fuca.

Vancouver sent an officer to the American vessel to glean information from its commander, who hesitated not to tell him all he knew of the coast, including a denial of the report that he had sailed around Vancouver Island in the *Lady Washington*. Among other things the English captain notes in his journal: "He likewise informed them of his having been off the mouth of a river in latitude $46^{\circ} 10'$, where the outset, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and was, apparently, inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it." That Gray must have made this effort to enter the Columbia sometime the previous year is evident from the fact that Vancouver states that he "was now commencing his summer's trade along the coast to the southward." The above remarks show plainly that Vancouver had no faith in the existence of such a stream as Aguilar's River, Rio de San Roque, Oregon, or River of the West, and this is rendered more certain by an entry in his journal made upon reaching Cape Flattery, that there—

Was not the least appearance of a safe or secure harbour, either in that latitude, or from it southward to Cape Mendocino; notwithstanding that, in that space, geographers had thought it expedient to furnish many. * * * So minutely had this extensive coast been inspected, that the surf had been constantly seen to break upon its shores from the mast-head; and it was but in a few small intervals only, where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. Whenever the weather prevented our making free with the shore, or on our hauling off for the night, the return of fine weather and of daylight uniformly brought us, if not to the identical spot we had departed from, at least within a few miles of it, and never beyond the northern limits of the coast which we had previously seen. An examination so directed, and circumstances happily concurring to permit its being so executed, afforded the most complete opportunity of determining its various turnings and windings. * * * It must be considered as a very singular circumstance that, in so great an extent of sea coast, we should not until now [He had entered the Straits of Fuca] have seen the appearance of any opening in its shores which presented any certain prospect of affording shelter; the whole coast forming one

compact, solid and nearly straight barrier against the sea. The river Mr. Gray mentioned should, from the latitude he assigned it, have existence in the bay, south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and inaccessible to vessels of our burthen, owing to the reefs and broken water which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which at length he had been unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for [Gray accounted for it easily enough by the theory that the outset was the discharging of an unusually large river, a conclusion Vancouver would not admit because he had been there and had not seen it], as, in most cases where there are outlets of such strength on a sea coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbour, or place of security for shipping on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the Promontory of Classet (Cape Flattery); nor had we any reason to alter our opinions.

The coast has since been found much less barren of harbors than this distinguished navigator supposed, though, with the single exception of the Columbia, there are none affording entrance to large vessels without first undergoing improvement. Leaving Captain Vancouver in the Straits of Fuca, let us follow the movements of the American vessel.

The *Columbia*, as has been stated, wintered at Fort Defiance in the harbor of Clayoquot, her crew being busily employed in constructing a small sloop, which was launched in February and christened the *Adventure*. This was the second vessel constructed on the Pacific Coast north of the Spanish possessions, Meares' *North-west America* being the first. Haswell, the first mate, was placed in command and sent northward on a trading voyage along the coast on the second of April, while Gray sailed south in the *Columbia*. Nothing is known of his movements until the second of May, except what Vancouver records as having learned from him as stated above. This was on the twenty-ninth of April, when they met just below the entrance to Fuca Straits. From that it appears he had been off Deception Bay, either that spring or the year before, which he believed to be the entrance to a large river, and which he had in vain endeavored to enter for nine days. The vessels parted; Vancouver scouting the idea that a river could possibly exist at that point, since he had been there and had not observed it, sailed into the Straits of Fuca in search of an inter-oceanic passage; Gray, convinced of the correctness of his own observations, sailed southward to discover and enter the greatest river on

the Pacific Coast and the second in size on the continent of North America.

On the seventh of May Gray entered a port in latitude $46^{\circ} 58'$, which he named "Bulfinch Harbor," in honor of one of the owners of his vessel. He sailed out again on the tenth, having, while there, repulsed an attack by the natives, killing some of the assailants, and on the eleventh safely crossed the bar which had before baffled him, and sailing ten miles up the stream cast anchor in the mighty Columbia, for so he named it in honor of his vessel. He also bestowed the name "Cape Hancock" upon the high promontory on the north, which had before been known as "Cabo de San Roque" and "Point Disappointment;" and upon the low point on the south, formerly called "Cape Frondoso," he bestowed the name "Point Adams." Three days later he ascended the stream fifteen miles further, and having gotten into shoal water by reason of missing the channel, he dropped down again, and anchored nearer the mouth. The inhabitants of the Chinook village on the north bank were very friendly, and from them Gray obtained a large quantity of furs. It was not until the twentieth that the bar was smooth enough to permit the *Columbia* to cross out, but on that day she sailed northward, and later, at two points on the upper coast, had bloody conflicts with Indians who attacked her. Here was met the *Adventure*, which had been twice around Queen Charlotte Islands and had enjoyed only a moderate trade with the Indians. They then made another trading voyage to the north, during which the *Columbia* struck upon a rock in the inland passage just above latitude 52° , and was considerably damaged. She succeeded in reaching Nootka, where, with the assistance of the Spaniards, she was soon made tight and seaworthy again. She again sailed north, met the *Adventure* at Port Montgomery, on Queen Charlotte Island, and both vessels returned to Nootka, where Gray found Captain Vancouver and gave him a memorandum of his discovery of the Columbia River. He then sailed for home by way of Sandwich Islands and China, having first sold the *Adventure* to Quadra for seventy-five select sea-otter skins.

After speaking the *Columbia*, Vancouver's two vessels entered the Straits of Fuca on the thirtieth of April, and proceeded slowly inland, making a careful examination as he progressed. The ves-

sels anchored at Port Discovery (the Porto Bodega y Quadra of Lieutenant Quimper), and from that place, as a rendezvous, Captain Vancouver and Lieutenants Menzies, Puget and Johnstone explored the channels and bays to the southward for about four weeks. Vancouver bestowed the following well-known names in that region: "Puget Sound," in honor of Lieutenant Puget; "Hood's Canal," for Lord Hood; "Admiralty Inlet;" "Mount Rainier," after Rear Admiral Rainier of the English Navy; "Vashon Island," after Captain Vashon; "Port Orchard," the name of the officer who discovered it; "Possession Sound," where he landed on the fourth of June and took possession in the name of King George of England; "Port Townsend," in compliment to the "noble Marquis of that name;" "Whidby Island," after one of his lieutenants; "Mount Baker," discovered by Lieutenant Baker; "Bellingham Bay;" "Deception Passage;" "New Dungeness" (the Point Santa Cruz of Quimper's chart), because of a fancied resemblance to Dungeness in the British Channel. When he took possession on the fourth of June he applied the title "New Georgia" to all the coast above latitude $39^{\circ} 20'$, which was certainly cutting California off very short above San Francisco Bay. This ceremony amounted to nothing more than a celebration of the King's birthday, since, under the Nootka Convention, neither party could acquire territorial rights by any such proceeding, a farce which Perez, Heceta, Bodega and Captain Cook had enacted years before at various places.

As he emerged from Puget Sound and sailed northward into the Canal del Rosario, which he re-christened "Gulf of Georgia," he fell in with the two Spanish vessels, *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, whose presence there has already been mentioned. Galiano and Valdez had entered the Straits of Fuca on the fourth of June, and had surveyed as far north as Tejada (Texada) Island. When the Spanish and English fleets encountered each other there followed an interchange of courtesies, leading to an agreement to unite their labors. For about three weeks they explored in company, but then the pride of the Spaniards would not permit them to longer endure the air of superiority assumed by the English commander, who, when they had explored an inlet, would not accept their report as final, but made a second exploration himself. That his distrust of the Spanish surveys was unfounded is amply proven by the charts of each

after they resumed independent action. The Spanish maps were as accurate in detail as those of Vancouver, and even more so, since they noted the entrance to Fraser River, called "Rio Blanco," the existence of which the Englishman denied. Galiano and Valdez continued their explorations northward, entered the Pacific on the twenty-third of August, by a passage at the north end of Vancouver Island, and returned to Nootka, having made the first complete circumnavigation of the Island.

When the vessels parted company, Vancouver continued northward, in advance of the Spaniards, and entered the ocean through Queen Charlotte's Sound, where the *Chatham* grounded on the rocks, but was safely put afloat again. The long channel above the Gulf of Georgia he called "Johnstone's Strait," after one of his lieutenants, and the names now borne by the most important objects in that region were also bestowed by him, such as "Burrard Canal," "Bute Canal," "Broughton Archipelago," "Knight's Canal," "Smith's Inlet," "Rivers Canal," etc. The fact that Vancouver's report was published several years before that of Galiano and Valdez's, and that this region was subsequently settled by English speaking people, accounts for the survival of the English nomenclature. He continued his explorations as far north as latitude 52° 18', when he turned about and sailed for Nootka Sound, reaching that port on the twenty-eighth of August. Here he found the store ship *Dædalus*, which had been sent out from England with supplies and fresh instructions for his guidance in arranging affairs at Nootka. There he remained for more than a month, engaged in the fulfillment of the diplomatic purposes of his visit.

While awaiting Vancouver's arrival, Quadra had not been idle, but had been gathering evidence from the Indians and traders, and was especially fortunate in securing a statement of the events of 1788-9 at Nootka, signed by Gray, Viana (then commanding a Portuguese vessel), and Ingraham, the latter being now the commander of the trading vessel *Hope*. All three of these were officers of vessels which were present at Nootka during the occurrence of the disputed events. They testified that the Englishmen had not been dispossessed of any lands and buildings whatever; that the only pretense to a settlement by them was the temporary occupation of a small piece of ground by Meares in 1788, while he was building

the *Northwest America*, which, with the hut the workmen had occupied, was abandoned when that work was completed; also, that all this was done under the Portuguese flag, the schooner being launched and sent out upon a cruise under the same ensign. According to the treaty, it will be remembered, all buildings and tracts of land of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty had been dispossessed by a Spanish officer, were to be restored. For that purpose Vancouver had come, expecting, of course, to have Nootka surrendered; but he was met by Quadra with proofs showing that, according to the terms of the treaty, there was nothing to be surrendered. Vancouver would listen to nothing but a transfer of the port, though he was unable to show any precise stipulation to that effect in the treaty. Quadra offered to give up Nootka if Vancouver would recognize all the coast south of Fuca Straits as exclusively Spanish; or he offered to surrender absolutely the small parcel of land on which Meares' cabin had stood and to station himself at the new port in the Straits of Fuca until a decision on the question could be had from Europe. Vancouver would agree to no propositions whatever. He came, he said, to receive an unconditional surrender of the port, and if Quadra would not consent to make it he would depart. It was finally decided that the present status should be maintained and the two commissioners should submit the facts to their respective governments. Consequently, Vancouver dispatched two messengers to England, one *via* China, on a Portuguese trading vessel, and one on a Spanish vessel to Mexico and thence to Europe. Quadra returned to Monterey, stopping on the way at Nuñez Gaona, to order Fidalgo to abandon the new settlement there and proceed to Nootka and assume command of that port. It was fortunate for Quadra that he was as cautious as has been shown, for a few weeks later royal orders were received to surrender Nootka upon no consideration whatever. The personal relations of the commissioners were most cordial, and before they left they agreed to name the large island after themselves, and it was accordingly entered upon both the Spanish and English charts as the "Island of Vancouver and Quadra." In after years, owing to plainly apparent causes, the latter's name was dropped from the title. The indemnity to be paid by Spain to Meares and his associates was finally fixed at \$210,000, less than one-third of the

amount claimed, but much more than the actual damage suffered.

When he had concluded his negotiations, Vancouver, armed with a rough chart of the Columbia's mouth, which Gray had left at Nootka, sailed southward with his fleet, now increased to three vessels. On the eighteenth of October the *Dædalus*, commanded by Lieutenant Whidby, entered Bulfinch's, or Gray's Harbor, to make a thorough examination, while her two consorts continued to the mouth of the Columbia. On the morning of the nineteenth the *Chatham* and *Discovery* attempted the passage of the bar, the former crossing safely, but the latter hauling off for fear there was not a sufficient depth of water. This circumstance led Vancouver to record in his journal that his "former opinion of this port being inaccessible to vessels of our burthen was now fully confirmed, with this exception, that in very fine weather, with moderate winds, and a smooth sea, vessels not exceeding four hundred tons might, so far as we were able to judge, gain admittance." It was while lying at anchor off the bar that he gained a view of a "high, round snow mountain" far up the stream, which he named "Mount St. Helens," in honor of his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid.

The first sound that saluted the commander of the *Chatham* upon crossing the bar was the report of a cannon, which was answered in a similar manner by Lieutenant Broughton. It came from a Bristol brig called the *Jenny*, lying in a sheltered bay within the mouth of the stream, which has ever since been known as "Baker's Bay," in honor of the captain of that little craft. This made the second vessel to enter the river before these official representatives of Great Britain undertook to explore it. The *Chatham* lay in the river several days, during which time Broughton ascended the stream in a boat some one hundred and twenty miles, as far as a point which he named in honor of the commander of the expedition, being the same upon which Fort Vancouver was afterward built by the Hudson's Bay Company. The high snow-crowned peak rising above the Cascades to the east he called "Mount Hood." During his stay he formally "took possession of the river and the country in its vicinity in his Britannic Majesty's name, having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or state had ever entered this river before." The closing portion of

this sentence sounds strangely from one who had in his possession at the time he penned it the rough chart made by Gray, which had been the cause of his being there at all. It is explained by saying that he affected to consider the broad estuary near the mouth of the stream as no portion of the river, and that in consequence Gray, though he had ascended the stream twenty-five miles, had not entered the river proper. This strained construction England maintained in the after controversy with the United States about the rights of discovery.

Vancouver wintered at the Hawaiian Islands, returning to Nootka in May, 1793, and finding that no news had been received from Europe, sailed north to continue his examination of the coast from the point he had reached the year before. He spent the summer in this work, making, with the aid of Caamaño's previous chart, quite an accurate map of the coast. From latitude $53^{\circ} 30'$ to 57° he called the country "New Cornwall;" south of that to near Georgia he named it "New Hanover," taking formal and ceremonious possession of it all in the name of King George. Upon his return to Nootka in October, he found that no instructions had arrived from home, and he sailed for California. The Spaniards still remained in quiet possession of the disputed port. Quite a number of trading vessels were on the coast that season, but the peculiar commercial character of their voyages prevented them from accomplishing anything of geographical or historical value.

In April, 1793, the Mexican Viceroy, Revilla-Gigedo, sent a full report of the events and status of affairs at Nootka to the home government, accompanied by recommendations for the future course of Spain. These were to the effect that recent explorations had practically demonstrated that no Northwest Passage existed, unless, indeed, it was found by way of the Columbia River, or *Entrada de Heceta*, and consequently that the trouble and expense of maintaining a station as far north as Nootka was unnecessary for the protection of Spanish interests. He advised that the Columbia be explored and occupied, if found to connect with the Atlantic or with New Mexico; otherwise he advised the strengthening of the northernmost stations in California, the occupation of Bodega Bay, and any other desirable harbor which might be found north of that point. He prepared to dispatch two vessels to survey the Colum-

bia in the spring of 1794, but for some reason the project was abandoned. Early that year word was received from Spain that the points in dispute had been settled. Quadra died in March, and Gen. José Manuel d Alava was appointed his successor, and sent to Nootka with the understanding that his instructions would follow him.

Captain Vancouver again visited the northern coast in the spring of 1794, and extended his explorations as far as the head of Cook's Inlet, becoming convinced that no passage whatever connected the Pacific with the Atlantic or any of the bays or seas leading off from it. He then went to Nootka, arriving on the second of September, where he found Alava, the Spanish commissioner. Neither was aware of the terms of settlement, so they enjoyed each other's hospitalities and awaited instructions. No orders having been received by the sixteenth the commissioners sailed for Monterey, where Alava soon afterwards received his instructions. These were to the effect that an amicable settlement had been arrived at, and that England had appointed a new commissioner. Upon receipt of this intelligence Vancouver at once set sail for England, where he arrived in October, 1795. His narrative of his four years' voyage and explorations, the most complete and important ever issued up to that time, was published in 1798, previous to which the great explorer died.

The settlement spoken of was the one signed at Madrid by the representatives of Spain and England, on the eleventh of January, 1794. The tide of European politics had so turned that it was then the best policy of both England and Spain to form an alliance, hence the mutual concessions in this agreement. The treaty provided that commissioners of both nations should meet at Nootka, and that formal possession of the tract claimed by Meares be given to the representative of England by the Spanish commissioner. It continued in the following explicit language:—

Then the British officer shall unfurl the British flag over the land thus restored as a sign of possession, and after these formalities the officers of the two crowns shall retire respectively their people from the said port of Nootka. And their said majesties have furthermore agreed that the subjects of both nations shall be free to frequent the said port as may be convenient, and to erect there temporary buildings for their accommodation during their residence on such occasions. But neither of the two parties shall make in said port any permanent establishment, or claim there any right of sovereignty or territorial dominion to the exclusion of the other. And

their said majesties will aid each other to maintain their subjects in free access to the said port of Nootka against whatever other nation may attempt to establish there any sovereignty or dominion.

This solemn farce was actually enacted there on the twenty-third of March, 1795, by General Alava on the part of Spain, and Lieutenant Thomas Pierce as representative of Great Britain. Everything portable was then embarked on the Spanish vessels, which sailed away and left Nootka again in the sole possession of the natives. From that day to this no white settlement has been attempted at that historical port. English historians, and many others writing, like them, from incomplete data, have asserted that the port of Nootka was surrendered to England by the Spaniards; but such the above quotation from the treaty shows not to have been the case. Only the small patch of ground claimed by Meares to have been purchased from Maquinna was formally transferred; and England was as firmly bound as Spain not to make any future settlement at that point, while both were at liberty to occupy any other points they might see fit. Their interests in Europe, however, were so closely linked for the next few years that neither felt it necessary to attempt any settlements on the upper Pacific Coast as a safeguard against the other. No other nation attempted to plant a colony here, and thus the matter stood for nearly a score of years, when the question of ownership was raised by a new claimant—the United States. Traders continued to carry on the fur business as before, but their operations were of little historical importance.

CHAPTER IX.

OVERLAND JOURNEYS TO THE PACIFIC.

Organization of the Northwest Company of Montreal—Mackenzie's Journey to the Arctic Ocean—His Trip to the Pacific in 1792—Discovery and Naming of Fraser River—Treaty of 1794 Opens a Western Field for American Traders—Conflicting Claims of Various Nations at the Beginning of the Present Century—Spain Reconveys Louisiana to France in 1800—Thomas Jefferson's Efforts to have the Unknown Region Explored—Louisiana Purchased by the United States—The Lewis and Clarke Expedition—They Winter with the Mandan Indians—Ascend the Missouri—Cross to Clarke's Fork—Reach the N. Perce—Descend Clearwater, Lewis (Snake) and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific—Winter at Fort Clatsop—The Multnomah, or Willamette, River—The Walla Walla, Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians—Lewis and Clarke Descend the Yellowstone and Missouri—Effect of their Great Journey—Anxiety of Great Britain—Fort Fraser Established in New Caledonia—Fort Henry Built on Snake River.

IT has been related how the early French explorers pushed their way gradually westward, until, in 1743, the Verendryes penetrated to the heart of the Rocky Mountains, and how, with the conquest of Canada by the English, these explorations suddenly ceased. Thirty years elapsed before they were again resumed by subjects of the new rulers of Canada, except in the instance of Captain Carver, whose pretentious claims have already been considered. Meanwhile, the American Colonies had fought and gained the War of Independence, and, as a result, England was deprived of all her possessions south of the great chain of lakes. France had sold Louisiana to Spain, as has been related, which gave that nation, in conjunction with her California possessions, proprietary claim to the whole

country lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific, and extending indefinitely northward. How extensive that region was, or what it contained, no one knew, and the Spanish owners were not inquisitive enough to find out. England was cut off from it except in the region lying north of Minnesota, certainly not a very inviting field for exploration; and the young Republic was too busy setting its government in good running order to engage in explorations of new territories. When, at last, westward journeys were again undertaken, it was solely by private enterprise in the interests of trade.

A number of Montreal fur traders pushed as far westward as the Athabasca and Saskatchewan as early as 1775, and carried on an independent trade with the natives. Competition with the Hudson's Bay Company became too heavy for them individually, and in 1784 they combined together as the Northwest Company of Montreal. Thus strengthened, and all its agents being interested partners, it prospered wonderfully and became, in a few years, a most powerful organization. In 1788 the station which had been established ten years before on Athabasca River was removed to Lake Athabasca, some twelve hundred miles northwest of Lake Superior, and called "Fort Chipewyan," and this became the great western headquarters of the company. Traders covered the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains almost to the Arctic.

This advance post was under the charge of Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the Northwest Company, who made a journey to the north in 1789, discovered the Mackenzie River, and followed it from its source in Great Slave Lake to where it discharges its icy waters into the Arctic Ocean. By this journey the character and extent of the continent to the northwest was ascertained, as well as the fact that there existed no passage between the Atlantic and Pacific south of the great northern sea. In 1791 he started with a small party upon a western trip, intent upon reaching the Pacific. Following up Peace River to the base of the Rocky Mountains, he camped there for the winter, and in the spring continued his journey along the course of that stream and came upon the Fraser River, down which he passed in canoes a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. To this stream he applied the Indian title of "Tacoutchee-Tassee," a name somewhat similar to that which the navigators had

a few years before applied to the Straits of Fuca. He finally abandoned the river and struck directly westward, reaching the coast at the North Bentinck Arm, only a short time after it had been explored by Vancouver's fleet. When he learned upon his return that the mouth of the Columbia had been discovered, he supposed that the large river which he had followed so far southward must be that great stream; and so it was considered to be until twenty years later, when Simon Fraser, a representative of the same fur company, descended it to its mouth in the Gulf of Georgia, and ascertained its true character. As Mackenzie's name was already applied to a large river, this stream was then christened "Fraser River."

These various sea and land expeditions had proved three very important facts: first, that there was no water passage for vessels across the continent; second, that by following the courses of streams and lakes the overland journey could be nearly accomplished in boats; third, that this vast unexplored region abounded in fur-bearing animals, a fact which led, in a few years, to its occupation by the rival fur traders, both English and American. At this time the Spanish claim of Louisiana clouded the whole region west of the Mississippi, and though its limits were undefined, it extended indefinitely into the unknown region lying north of Mexico and California. The Americans were especially hampered in their trading operations on the frontier. The Mississippi formed a definite and recognized western boundary to the territory of the United States, and the line of forts along the south side of the chain of great lakes were still held by Great Britain, notwithstanding they should have been surrendered under the treaty of 1783. When that convention was formed, the representatives of England endeavored to have the Alleghanies fixed as the western limit of the new nation, but the American commissioners insisted that as British colonies the states had previously exercised jurisdiction as far west as the Mississippi, and the safety of the Republic required that she still continue to do so; and they carried their point. By a special treaty made in 1794, England surrendered possession of the lake posts, and the two nations agreed that both should have unrestricted intercourse and trade in the great western region. From that time American traders extended their operations further

westward. The Hudson's Bay Company also began to invade the field occupied by its great rival, the Northwest Company of Montreal.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the territorial claims of the various nations on the Pacific Coast were exceedingly conflicting. The claim of Russia to Alaska was recognized as valid, having been established both by discovery and occupation; though as yet no definite southern limit was fixed. Spain's claim to California was also undisputed, extending to the forty-second parallel. Between these two both England and Spain claimed title by right of discovery only, since by the Nootka convention both had agreed to have no claim whatever upon the actual or asserted occupation of their representatives or subjects at Nootka Sound. The United States, also, by reason of Gray's discovery of the Columbia, had laid a foundation for a claim to the whole region drained by that mighty river, as yet unasserted, but which was pressed with much vigor and final partial success a few years later. Besides these discovery rights, the Louisiana Province, which France had transferred to Spain in 1762, was construed by its possessor, or, more accurately speaking, its technical claimant, to cover the whole region west of the Mississippi not claimed by the same nation as portions of Mexico and California. This title was reconveyed to France in the year 1800, thus putting that nation again into the field as a claimant of territory in the western portion of North America.

It will be remembered that John Ledyard, who had been one of Captain Cook's seamen, undertook to interest American and French capitalists in the Pacific fur trade, soon after the return of that expedition to England. At that time Thomas Jefferson was the representative of the United States at the Court of Versailles, and he became deeply interested in this great western region. He naturally preferred that his own country should fall heir to such a magnificent inheritance; but more than a decade passed before the States had perfected their government and regulated those national affairs requiring immediate and careful consideration, and during that time it was idle to think of further accessions of territory. However, in 1792, he proposed to the American Philosophical Society that a subscription be raised for the purpose of engaging some competent person to explore the country lying between the Mississippi

River and Pacific Ocean, "by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Stony Mountains, and descending the nearest river to the Pacific." His suggestion was acted upon, and the position having been eagerly solicited by Lieutenant Meriwether Lewis, a Virginian, that gentleman was selected at the recommendation of Mr. Jefferson. His traveling companion was Mr. Andre Michaux, a distinguished French botanist, then living in the United States in the employ of his government. When they had proceeded as far as Kentucky, Mr. Michaux was recalled by the French Minister, and the expedition was abandoned.

Soon after France again acquired title to Louisiana, Napoleon recognized the fact that it would only be a source of annoyance and expense to the nation. His ambitious designs in Europe arrayed England and other powerful nations in hostility to France, and to avoid the necessity of having to provide for the protection of vast territorial possessions, as well as to place in the field an active and now powerful rival to England, he opened secret negotiations for the transfer of the whole Province to the United States. Mr. Jefferson was then President, and grasped eagerly the opportunity to realize his long-cherished desire, and by so doing render his administration one to be forever remembered by his countrymen. Even before the treaty was concluded, he began to put his plan of operations into effect; and on the eighteenth of January, 1803, he submitted to Congress a special message on the Indian question, in which he incorporated a suggestion that an official expedition be dispatched upon the same journey as the private one would have accomplished ten years before, had it not been abandoned. Congress approved the idea and made an ample appropriation to carry it into effect. Lewis was then acting in the capacity of private secretary to the President, and once more solicited the direction of the enterprise. In this he was again successful. He held at that time the rank of captain, and having selected William Clarke as his associate, that gentleman also received a captain's commission.

In the instructions drawn up for the guidance of the party, the President says: "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River, and such principal streams of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the

most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." They were directed to acquire as intimate a knowledge as possible of the extent and number of Indian tribes, their manners, customs and degree of civilization, and to report fully upon the topography, the character of the soil, the natural products, the animal life and minerals, as well as to ascertain by scientific observations and inquiry as much as possible about the climate, and to inquire especially into the fur trade and the needs of commerce. Since Louisiana had not yet been formally conveyed to the United States, the instructions contained a paragraph saying: "Your mission has been communicated to the ministers here from France, Spain and Great Britain, and through them to their governments; and such assurances given them as to its objects, as we trust will satisfy them. The country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all its subjects; and that from the minister of England will entitle you to the friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you may happen to meet."

The French passport was rendered needless by the receipt of the joyful intelligence a few days before they started that Louisiana had been formally ceded to the United States. Lewis left Washington on the fifth of July, 1803, and was joined by Clarke at Louisville. Having selected the men to compose their party, they went into camp near St. Louis and remained until spring. The final start was made on the fourteenth of May, 1804, the party consisting of Captain Meriwether Lewis, Captain William Clarke, nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two French Canadian watermen, of the class called "voyageurs" among the fur traders, an interpreter and hunter and a negro servant of Captain Clarke. There were, also, a number of assistants who accompanied the party as far as the Mandan country. The Missouri river was ascended as far as the region occupied by the Mandan Indians, with whom they remained all winter, learning much from their hosts of the geography of the surrounding country as well as its native inhabitants. While there they negotiated a treaty of peace and friendship between the Mandans and Ricarees, between whom hostilities had existed for a long time.

The westward journey was resumed in the spring of 1805. They still followed up the Missouri, of whose course, tributaries and the great falls they had received very minute and accurate information from their Mandan friends. Passing the mouth of the Yellowstone, which name they record as being but a translation of "Roche Jaune," the title given it by the French-Canadian trappers who had already visited it, they continued up the Missouri, passed the castellated rocks and the great falls and cascades, ascended through the mighty canyon, and reached the headwaters of the stream, crossed the Rocky Mountain divide and came upon the stream variously known along its course as "Deer Lodge," "Hellgate," "Bitterroot," "Clarke's Fork of the Columbia" and "Pend d'Oreille." Upon this they bestowed the name "Clarke's River," and so it should be called from its source in the Rocky Mountains to where it unites with the main stream in British Columbia. From this river the advance party under Clarke crossed the Bitterroot Mountains by the Lolo trail, suffering intensely from cold and hunger, and on the twentieth of September reached a village of Nez Perce Indians, situated on a plain about fifteen miles from the south fork of Clearwater River, where they were received with great hospitality. This first passage of the mountains by representatives of the United States and their warm reception by the Indians contrast strongly with a scene witnessed by this same Lolo trail seventy-two years later when Howard's army hotly pursued Chief Joseph and his little band of hostile Nez Percés, who were fleeing before the avengers from the scene of their many bloody massacres.

The almost famished men partook of such quantities of the food liberally provided by their savage hosts that many of them became ill, among them being Captain Clarke, who was unable to continue the journey until the second day. He then went to the village of Twisted-hair, the chief, situated on an island in the stream mentioned. To the river he gave the name "Koos-koos-kee," erroneously supposing it to be its Indian title. The probabilities are that the Nez Percés, in trying to inform Captain Clarke that this river flowed into a still larger one, the one variously known as "Lewis," "Sahaptin" or "Snake," used the words "Koots-koots-kee," meaning "This is the smaller," and were understood to have meant that as the name of the stream. The Nez Perce name is "Kaih-kaih-

koosh," signifying "Clearwater," the title it is generally known by.

Having been united, the two parties a few days later journeyed on down the Clearwater. Concerning their deplorable condition and their method of traveling the journal says: "Captain Lewis and two of the men were taken very ill last evening, and to-day he could scarcely sit on his horse, while others were obliged to be put on horseback, and some, from extreme weakness and pain, were forced to lie down alongside of the road. * * * The weather was very hot and oppressive to the party, most of whom are now complaining of sickness. Our situation, indeed, rendered it necessary to husband our remaining strength, and it was determined to proceed down the river in canoes. Captain Clarke, therefore, set out with Twisted-hair, and two young men, in quest of timber for canoes. * * * Having resolved to go down to some spot calculated for building canoes, we set out early this morning and proceeded five miles, and encamped on the low ground on the south, opposite the forks of the river." The canoes being constructed, they embarked, in the month of October, on their journey down the Clearwater and connecting streams, for the Pacific, leaving what remained of their horses in charge of the friendly Nez Percés. They had for some time been subsisting upon roots, fish, horse-meat and an occasional deer, crow, or wolf, but having left their horses behind them, their resort, when out of other food, now became the wolfish dogs they purchased from the Indians.

Upon reaching Snake River, which was named in honor of Captain Lewis, the canoes were turned down that stream, which they followed to the Columbia, naming the Tukannon River "Kimso-emim," a title derived from the Indians, and upon the Palouse bestowing the name "Drewyer," in honor of the hunter of the party. They then followed down the Columbia, passing a number of rapids, and arrived at the Cascades on the twenty-first of October. A portage was made of all their effects and a portion of the canoes, the remainder making the perilous descent of the Cascades in safety. The mouth of the Willamette was passed without the addition of so large a stream being noticed. Cape Disappointment was reached November fifteenth, and the eyes of the weary travelers were gladdened with a sight of the great ocean which had been their goal for more than a year. The season of winter rains having set in,

they were soon driven by high water from the low land on the north bank of the stream, eleven miles above the cape, which they had selected for their winter residence. They then left the Chinooks, crossed the river, and built a habitation on the high land on the south side of the stream, which they called "Fort Clatsop," in honor of the Indians which inhabited that region. Here they spent the winter, making occasional short excursions along the coast. The departure for home was delayed with the hope that some trading vessel might appear, from which sadly-needed supplies could be obtained, but being disappointed in this they loaded their canoes, and on March 23, 1806, took final leave of Fort Clatsop. Before going they presented the chiefs of the Chinooks and Clatsops with certificates of kind and hospitable treatment, and circulated among the natives several papers, posting a copy on the wall of the abandoned fort, which read as follows: "The object of this last is, that through the medium of some civilized person, who may see the same, it may be made known to the world, that the party, consisting of the persons whose names are hereunto annexed, and who were sent out by the Government of the United States to explore the interior of the continent of North America, did penetrate the same by the way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the fourteenth day of November, 1805, and departed the twenty-third day of March, 1806, on their return to the United States by the same route by which they had come out." To this was appended a list of the members of the expedition. One of these copies was handed by an Indian the following year to Captain Hall, an American fur trader, whose vessel, the *Lydia*, had entered the Columbia, by whom it was taken to China and thence to the United States; thus, even had the party perished on the return journey, evidence of the completion of their task was not wanting.

Upon taking an invoice of their possessions before starting upon the return, they found that their goods available for traffic with the Indians consisted of six blue robes, one scarlet robe, one United States artillery hat and coat, five robes made from the national ensign, and a few old clothes trimmed with ribbon. Upon these must they depend for purchasing provisions and horses, and for winning the hearts of stubborn chiefs. They proceeded up the

south bank of the stream, until they came unexpectedly upon a large river flowing into it from the south. On an island near its mouth, known to the early trappers as "Wapattoo," and now called "Sauvie's Island," they came upon an Indian village, where they were refused a supply of food. To impress them with his power, Captain Clarke entered one of their habitations and cast a few sulphur matches into the fire. The savages were frightened at the blue flame, and looked upon the strange visitor as a great medicine man. They implored him to extinguish the "evil fire," and brought all the food he desired. The name of the Indian village was "Multnomah," but Captain Clarke understood the name to apply to the river, of whose course he made careful inquiry. Upon the map of this expedition the "Multnomah" is indicated as extending southward and eastward into California and Nevada, and the Indians who resided along the streams that flow from southeastern Oregon into the Snake, are represented as living on the upper branches of the Multnomah. The true Indian name of the river and valley is "Wallamet," which has been corrupted to "Willamette" by those who conceived the idea that it was of French origin. The confusion between Indian, French and English names in this region has resulted in many very peculiar and ridiculous appellations.

At the mouth of the Lapage River, the stream later named "John Day," in memory of the bold hunter of the Astor party, who met such a tragic fate, the canoes were abandoned, and the party proceeded up the Columbia on foot, packing their baggage upon the backs of a few horses purchased from the natives. Crossing the Umatilla, which they called "You-ma-lolam," they arrived at the mouth of the Walla Walla on the twenty-seventh of April. Yellept, the Walla Walla chief, was a man of unusual capacity and power, and extended to them the most cordial and bountiful hospitality they had enjoyed since leaving the abodes of civilization. How different would have been the reception extended them could the old chief have gazed into the future with prophetic eye, and seen his great successor, Peo-peo-mux-mux, killed while unjustly a prisoner by members of the same race and tribe to which these white guests belonged! It is related of Yellept that in after years, having seen the last of five noble sons perish in battle or by the hand of disease, he called together the tribe, and throwing himself

upon the body of his last son, sternly bade them bury him with his dead. With loud lamentations and heart-broken sobs they did as he commanded, and buried alive the great chief they both loved and feared. This was the man who extended his hospitalities to Lewis and Clarke, and because of the important part the Walla Walla and Cayuses played in the after history of this region, the following account given by those gentlemen of their entertainers is presented. Their journal says:—

Immediately upon our arrival, Yellept, who proved to be a man of much influence, not only in his own, but in the neighboring nations, collected the inhabitants and, after having made a harangue, the purport of which was to induce the nations to treat us hospitably, set them an example, by bringing himself an armful of wood and a platter containing three roasted mullets. They immediately assented to one part, at least, of the recommendation, by furnishing us with an abundance of the only sort of fuel they employ, the stems of shrubs growing in the plains. We then purchased four dogs, on which we supped heartily, having been on short allowance for two days past. When we were disposed to sleep, the Indians retired immediately on our request, and, indeed, uniformly conducted themselves with great propriety. These people live on roots, which are very abundant in the plains, and catch a few salmon-trout; but at present they seem to subsist chiefly on a species of mullet, weighing from one to three pounds. * * * Monday, twenty-eighth, we purchased ten dogs. While this trade was carrying on by our men, Yellept brought a fine white horse and presented him to Captain Clarke, expressing at the same time a wish to have a kettle; but on being informed that we had already disposed of the last kettle we could spare, he said he would be content with any present we should make in return. Captain Clarke, therefore, gave his sword, for which the chief had before expressed a desire, adding one hundred balls, some powder, and other small articles, with which he appeared perfectly satisfied. We were now anxious to depart, and requested Yellept to lend us canoes for the purpose of crossing the river. But he would not listen to any proposal of leaving the village. He wished us to remain two or three days; but would not let us go to-day, for he had already sent to invite his neighbors, the Chinnapoos (Cayuses), to come down this evening and join his people in a dance for our amusement. We urged, in vain, that by setting out sooner we would the earlier return with the articles they desired; for a day, he observed, would make but little difference. We at length mentioned that, as there was no wind, it was now the best time to cross the river, and would merely take the horses over and return to sleep at their village. To this he assented, and then we crossed with our horses, and having hobbled them, returned to their camp. Fortunately there was among these Wollawollahs a prisoner, belonging to a tribe of Shoshonee or Snake Indians, residing to the south of the Multnomah, and visiting occasionally the heads of the Wollawollah creek. Our Shoshonee woman, Sacajaweah, though she belonged to a tribe near the Missouri, spoke the same language as this prisoner, and by their means we were able to explain ourselves to the Indians, and answer all their inquiries with respect to ourselves and the object of our journey. Our conversation inspired them with much confidence, and they soon brought several sick persons for whom they requested our assistance. We splintered the broken arm of one, gave some relief to another, whose knee was contracted by rheumatism, and administered what we thought beneficial for ulcers and eruptions of the skin, on various parts of the body, which are very common disorders among them. But our most valuable medicine was eye-water, which we

distributed, and which, indeed, they required very much; the complaint of the eyes, occasioned by living on the water, and increased by the fine sand of the plains, being now universal. A little before sunset, the Chinnapoos, amounting to one hundred men and a few women, came to the village, and joining the Wollawollahs, who were about the same number of men, formed themselves in a circle round our camp, and waited very patiently till our men were disposed to dance, which they did for about an hour, to the tune of the violin. They then requested to see the Indians dance. With this they readily complied, and the whole assemblage, amounting, with the women and children of the village, to several hundred, stood up, and sang and danced at the same time. The exercise was not, indeed, very graceful, for the greater part of them were formed into a solid column, round a kind of hollow square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music. Some, however, of the more active warriors entered the square and danced round it sidewise, and some of our men joined in the dance, to the great satisfaction of the Indians. The dance continued till ten o'clock the next morning. In the course of the day we gave small medals to two inferior chiefs, each of whom made us a present of a fine horse. We were in a poor condition to make an adequate acknowledgement for this kindness, but gave several articles, among which was a pistol, with some hundred rounds of ammunition. We have, indeed, been treated by these people with an unusual degree of kindness and civility. * * * We may, indeed, justly affirm that of all the Indians whom we have met since leaving the United States, the Wollawollahs were the most hospitable, honest and sincere.

Bidding adieu to these hospitable people, they left the Columbia on the twenty-ninth of April and followed eastward what is known as the "Nez Perce Trail." They went up the Touchet, called by them "White Stallion," because of the present Yellept had made to Captain Clarke, the Patet and Pataha and down the Alpowa to Snake river, which they crossed and followed up the north side of Clearwater until they reached the village of Twisted-hair, where had been left their horses the fall before. The Lolo trail was not yet free from snow, and for six weeks they resided among the Nez Perces, a tribe closely woven into the history of this region. Of them and the intercourse held with them the fall before, the journal says:—

The Chopunnish, or Pierce-nosed, nation, who reside on the Kooskooske and Lewis' Rivers, are in person stout, portly, well-looking men; the women are small, with good features, and generally handsome, though the complexion of both sexes is darker than that of the Tushpaws. In dress they resemble that nation, being fond of displaying their ornaments. The buffalo or elk skin robe decorated with beads, sea-shells (chiefly mother-of-pearl), attached to an otter-skin collar, and hung in the hair, which falls in front in two queues; feathers, paint of different kinds (principally white, green and light blue), all of which they find in their own country; these are the chief ornaments they use. In winter they wear a short shirt of dressed skins, long painted leggings and moccasins, and a plait of twisted grass around the neck. The dress of the women is more simple, consisting of a long shirt of argalia or ibex skin, reaching down to the ankles without a girdle; to this are tied little pieces of brass and shells, and other small articles; but the head is not at

all ornamented. The dress of the female is, indeed, more modest, and more studiously so, than any we have observed, though the other sex is careless of the indecency of exposure. The Chopunnish have very few amusements, for their life is painful and laborious; and all their exertions are necessary to earn even their precarious subsistence. During the summer and autumn they are busily occupied in fishing for salmon, and collecting their winter store of roots. In the winter they hunt the deer on snow-shoes over the plains, and towards spring cross the mountains to the Missouri, for the purpose of trafficking for buffalo robes. The inconveniences of that comfortless life are increased by frequent encounters with their enemies from the west, who drive them over the mountains with the loss of their horses, and sometimes the lives of many of the nation. Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws; their treatment of us differed much from the kind and disinterested services of the Shoshonees (Snakes); they are indeed selfish and avaricious; they part very reluctantly with every article of food or clothing; and while they expect a recompense for every service, however small, do not concern themselves about reciprocating any presents we may give them. They are generally healthy—the only disorders, which we have had occasion to remark, being of a scrofulous kind, and for these, as well as for the amusement of those who are in good health, hot and cold bathing is very commonly used. The soil of these prairies is of a light yellow clay, intermixed with small, smooth grass; it is barren, and produces little more than a bearded grass about three inches high, and a prickly pear, of which we now found three species.

It is very evident that these gentlemen were not acquainted with the attributes of the succulent bunch grass, nor of the soil, for those prairies constitute the now celebrated wheat lands of Eastern Oregon and Washington and Northern Idaho.

They made an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Bitterroot Mountains on the fifteenth of June, but found the trails blocked with snow. On the thirtieth, however, they safely crossed. On the fourth of July it was decided to pursue two routes for a distance; accordingly, Captain Lewis, with a portion of the party, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri, and followed down the main stream, exploring the larger tributaries and learning much of the geography of Montana. With the remainder of the party Clarke crossed to the Yellowstone, and descended that stream to its mouth, uniting again with Captain Lewis some distance below that point on the twelfth of August. There stands to the present day on the south bank of the Yellowstone, between the cities of Miles City and Billings, a monument to commemorate the visit of this expedition. It is known as "Pompey's Pillar," and consists of a detached body of yellow sandstone, which rises abruptly on three sides to the height of four hundred feet. On the north side, at a place which can be reached by clambering over the heavy blocks

of sandstone broken down from the body of the cliff, in a place sheltered from the elements by an overhanging wall of rock, the leader carved his autograph; and the characters, "William Clarke, July 25, 1806," can be still distinctly traced. When again united, the party continued their journey down the Missouri, and reached St. Louis September 25, 1806, having been absent nearly two and one-half years.

The return of Lewis and Clarke was the cause of great rejoicing in the United States. Mr. Jefferson says: "Never did a similar event excite more joy throughout the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey, and looked forward with impatience to the information it would furnish. Their anxieties, too, for the safety of the corps had been kept in a state of excitement by lugubrious rumors, circulated from time to time on uncertain authorities, and uncontradicted by letters, or other direct information, from the time they had left the Mandan towns, on their ascent up the river in April of the preceding year, 1805, until their actual return to St. Louis." Captain Lewis was, soon after his return, appointed Governor of Louisiana, with which his journey had rendered him more familiar than any other man except his associate; and Captain Clarke was appointed General of Militia of the same Territory, and agent for Indian affairs in that vast region he had explored. During a period of temporary mental derangement, Captain Lewis died by his own hand, in September, 1809, before he had fully completed his narrative of the journey. The history of the expedition was prepared from his manuscript under the direction of Captain Clarke, and was first published in 1814. The general details, however, were spread throughout the country immediately upon their return, especially on the frontier. During their absence other exploring parties were traversing Louisiana in various directions in search of information for the government. Lieutenant Pike ascended the Mississippi to its headwaters in 1805, and the following year journeyed southwestward from the mouth of the Missouri to the sources of the Arkansas, Red and Rio Bravo del Norte. At the same time Dunbar, Hunter and Sibley explored Red River and its companion streams. These explorations served to greatly stimulate the fur trade carried on

from St. Louis and Mackinaw, as well as to strengthen the government in its purpose of adhering to its right to Louisiana.

When Great Britain received the official notification mentioned by President Jefferson in his letter of instructions to Captain Lewis, which was quickly followed by intelligence that the region to which it referred had been ceded by France to the United States, much anxiety was felt by the Government and such of its subjects as were personally interested in the country under consideration. Especially were the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies anxious for the future of their interests in that region, more particularly the former, whose hunters were operating further south and west than those of the rival company. The French claim to Louisiana, founded solely upon technical grounds, had not been a source of much uneasiness; but now that it had been transferred to a nation both able and anxious to make an effort to perfect the title by reducing the country to actual possession, the matter presented an entirely different aspect. Naturally, the technical title was not recognized in its entirety; that is, there was a vast region lying north of the forty-second parallel and west of the Rocky Mountains, known a few years later as "Oregon," and embracing the watershed of the Columbia River, which might be held by the United States under the Louisiana title and the discovery right of Captain Gray, provided these claims were perfected by actual occupation; similar occupation might entitle Great Britain to its possession as a perfection of her technical title, claimed by discovery through Captain Francis Drake, and exploration by Captain Cook, Captain Vancouver and Alexander Mackenzie. Both nations having color of title, possession became the decisive issue. The Northwest Company immediately sent a party to establish trading posts on the Columbia, under command of a trusted agent named Laroque. He started in 1804, but failed to progress farther than the Mandan country, and the Columbia stations were not established. Simon Fraser, another agent of the company, left Fort Chipewyan in 1805, and followed the route pursued formerly by Mackenzie until he reached Fraser River. At Fraser Lake, a few miles west of the point where the river turns to the southward, he established a trading post, bestowing the name "New Caledonia" upon that region. As the Fraser was then considered identical with the Columbia, it was supposed

that this post was on the great stream for the possession of which England and America were contending. Though this idea was subsequently learned to be erroneous, the fact remained true that the post was the first establishment made by the subjects of either nation west of the Rocky Mountains. The Americans were not far behind, for the Missouri Fur Company was organized in 1808, with headquarters at St. Louis. The same year trading posts were established on the affluents of the Mississippi and Missouri, and one of the agents of the company, named Henry, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and founded Fort Henry, on the headwaters of Lewis, or Snake, River, the first American establishment, and, as it proved, the first of any kind on a tributary of the Columbia. The next was made nearer the mouth of the stream in 1810, by an American whose name has been variously given by superficial historians as "Smith," "T. Winship" and "Nathaniel Winship," none of which are correct. Early in 1809 a partnership was formed in Boston between Abiel Winship, Jonathan Winship, Nathan Winship, Benjamin P. Homer and a few others, for the purpose of founding a settlement on the Columbia as a base of trading operations, the settlement to be a permanent one. With everything necessary to the success of the project, Nathan Winship sailed in the *Albatross* in July, William Smith being his chief mate. He carried written instructions, by which it appears that the projectors of the enterprise were wise enough to believe that Indian character was the same on the Pacific as it had been found to be on the Atlantic. It was the design to buy the land from the natives; to erect a two-story log house with port-holes for cannon and loop-holes for rifles; the second story to be the arsenal where all the arms and ammunition were to be stored, and to which no Indian was to be admitted upon any consideration, entrance to be effected by means of a trap door and ladder; agriculture to be carried on under the guns of the fort, which was always to be guarded by a sufficient force. William A. Gale kept a journal, which gives the details of the expedition. When the *Albatross* reached the Sandwich Islands, Winship found a letter there from his brother Jonathan, who was in command of the trading vessel *O'Cain*, advising him to make haste, as the Russians had designs on the Columbia. It was the twenty-sixth of May, 1810, that the *Albatross* entered the river and began sounding it to locate

the channel, gradually ascending the stream. On the first of June Winship and Smith selected a point on the south bank of the stream some forty miles above its mouth, which they called "Oak Point," because they observed there four oak trees, the first they had seen since entering the river. The place now known as "Oak Point" is on the opposite side of the river, a fact which has led some writers into the error of stating that this first American settlement on the Columbia was made in Washington Territory. They at once began preparations in accordance with their plans, such as hewing logs for the fort and clearing a patch of the fertile tract for a garden; but they were soon initiated into the mysteries of the "June Rise," for the annual freshets of that season covered their building site and garden patch to the depth of several feet long before they had the fort erected. A patch of higher ground five hundred yards further down the stream was selected, and the logs floated down to it, but as the natives had begun to exhibit symptoms of hostility, Winship decided to abandon the effort. On the seventeenth of June he dropped down to the mouth of the river, learning on the way that only his vigilance had prevented the capture of his vessel by the Chinooks. He then sailed on a trading voyage, expecting to return the next year and found a settlement, but in this he was forestalled by the Astor party. The *Albatross* had quite a string of adventures before again reaching Boston, being seized once on the California coast, and once blockaded by British men of war at the Hawaiian Islands. Thus were the first two settlements on the river made by Americans, and it will be seen that the third and most important was also made by them.

CHAPTER X.

ASTORIA AND THE JOINT OCCUPATION TREATY.

The Pacific Fur Trade at the Beginning of the Present Century—Americans in the Lead—Their Plan of Operations—Russia Complains of the Sale of Fire-Arms to the Indians—John Jacob Astor's Plans—The Pacific Fur Company Organized—Astor's Alien Partners—The "Tonquin" Sails from New York—Dissensions on the Voyage—Dangers of the Columbia Bar—Astoria Founded—Sad Fate of the "Tonquin" and Her Crew—Appearance at Astoria of an Agent of the Northwest Company—Fort Okinagan—Launch of the "Dolly"—Sufferings of Wilson Price Hunt's Party—Operations along the Columbia—Astoria Sold to the Northwest Company—Captured by the English and Named "Fort George"—Unsuccessful Efforts of Mr. Astor to Regain Possession—Negotiations under the Treaty of Ghent—Conflicting Claims to Oregon Advanced by England and the United States—Technical Surrender of Fort George—Joint Occupation Agreed Upon—The Florida Treaty.

DURING the first ten years of the present century, Americans took the lead in the fishing and fur trade of the Pacific, though the vessels of other nations were not an unfrequent sight to the waters of our coast. The reasons for this were simple. Russians did not enjoy the privilege of entering the few Chinese ports open to the commerce of more favored nations, and therefore did their trading by land from Kamtchatka, as previously described; the English independent traders were excluded from the Pacific by the monopoly grants of the East India Company and South Sea Company. Naturally this usurpation of the fur trade by Americans was distasteful to rival nations, and especially to the English, who did not then, and, in fact, seldom do now, recognize the enterprise and commercial spirit of the "Yankees" as commendable, or admit

their superiority, or even equality, in anything. Though often the representatives of wealthy and long-established business houses, these traders were classed by them as "adventurers," and very slightly spoken of, while their skill as navigators and judgment as traders were not recognized as deserving of praise. Archibald Campbell gives the following contemptuous review of the "Yankee" method of conducting the fur trade:—

These adventurers set out on the voyage with a few trinkets of very little value. In the Southern Pacific, they pick up a few seal skins, and perhaps a few butts of oil; at the Gallipagos, they lay in turtle, of which they preserve the shells; at Valparaiso, they raise a few dollars in exchange for European articles; at Nootka, and other parts of the Northwest Coast, they traffic with the natives for furs, which, when winter commences, they carry to the Sandwich Islands, to dry and preserve from vermin; here they leave their own people to take care of them, and, in the spring, embark, in lieu, the natives of the islands, to assist in navigating to the Northwest Coast in search of more skins. The remainder of the cargo is then made up of sandal, which grows abundantly in the woods of Atool and Owyhee (Hawaii), of tortoise shells, shark's fins, and pearls of an inferior kind, all of which are acceptable in the Chinese market; and with these and their dollars they purchase cargoes of teas, silks and nankins, and thus complete their voyage in the course of two or three years.

With the exception of the assertion that their outward cargo consisted solely of a "few trinkets," this may be called a correct statement of the Yankee method, and, so far from proving them to have been mere adventurers, shows that their voyages were conducted with a clear idea of the nature of the Chinese trade and the only successful method of conducting it. Had the traders of rival nations shown the same good judgment and managed their enterprises in the same systematic manner, they would have met with a greater measure of success. The vessels were generally large ones, dispatched by wealthy merchants, and besides the trinkets, carried valuable cargoes of English and American manufactured goods, with which they supplied the Russian and Spanish settlements on the Coast. The Russians in particular were dependent upon the American traders for ammunition, sugar, spirits, and manufactured articles generally. The "trinkets" spoken of were used in the Indian trade, as has been the custom from time immemorial with civilized nations in their dealings with inferior races. Commercially of little value, they were highly prized by the natives, who would give for them more furs than they would offer for some object worth ten times the amount, but which did not strike their fancy,

or was of no use to them in their manner of living. This method of trading with the Indians was practiced as much by the Hudson's Bay Company and Northwest Company as by the Americans; nor was it confined to English-speaking nations, for the Russians also bartered beads and cheap ornaments for valuable furs. Such articles have always been considered a "valuable consideration" by every nation in dealing with uncivilized races.

Certain of these traders were guilty of improper and impolitic conduct, however, and this was the chief cause of bringing them into disrepute. They used whisky and fire-arms as articles of merchandise, reaping present profit, but sowing the seeds of decay which have swept away the native inhabitants of the Coast like flies by an October frost. It would, at the first glance, seem that the possession of fire-arms by the Indians would enable them to hunt more successfully, and thus, by rendering the supply of furs more abundant, add to the profit of the traders; but there was another face to the matter. Irving says: "In this way several fierce tribes in the vicinity of the Russian posts, or within range of their trading excursions, were furnished with deadly means of warfare, and rendered troublesome and dangerous neighbors." The Russians were extremely harsh and illiberal in their dealings with the aborigines, winning their hostility instead of good will, and they naturally objected to the placing of the defrauded tribes on an equality with themselves in the matter of weapons of war. Complaint was made by the Russian Government to the State Department; but as the American traders were violating no law or treaty, the Government could not interfere directly. It did, however, use its influence to effect a remedy. John Jacob Astor was then the central figure of the American fur trade, being engaged extensively in that business in the region of the great lakes and headwaters of the Mississippi, and was the leading merchant of New York City. His attention was called to the matter and he soon devised an effectual remedy. His idea was to concentrate the trade in the hands of a company which would conduct it properly, and one of the means of doing this was to supply the Russian posts by contract, and thus cut off one of the most profitable elements of the Pacific trade from the independent traders. His plan was to establish a permanent post at the mouth of the Columbia, which would be the headquarters for

a large trade with the interior and along the coast, and to supply this post and the Russian settlements by means of a vessel sent annually from New York, which should also convey the furs to China and take home from there a cargo of silk, tea, etc. The independent traders would thus be superseded by a company which would establish posts along the Columbia, a thing earnestly desired by the Government, and the cause of irritation to Russia would be removed. The scheme was heartily endorsed by the President and Cabinet. As has been shown, President Jefferson had been for years a warm advocate of American supremacy along the Columbia, and in a letter written to Mr. Astor in later years, said of his opinion at that time: "I considered, as a great public acquisition, the commencement of a settlement in that part of the western coast of America, and looked forward with gratification to the time when its descendants had spread themselves through the whole length of the coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, and enjoying like us the rights of self-government." How vastly grander is the actual than even this grand conception of one of the greatest statesmen America has produced!

Mr. Astor organized the Pacific Fur Company, himself supplying the capital and owning a half interest. To manage operations in the field, he selected competent men of much experience in the fur trade, and to bind them to his interests he gave them the other half share in the enterprise, divided in equal proportions. Wisdom and prudence marked every step taken, with the exception of the selection of partners. Among these were several men who had formerly belonged to, or were employed by, the Northwest Company. They were of alien birth and sympathies. When they united with Mr. Astor it was simply as a commercial venture, by which they hoped to better themselves financially. His purpose of founding an American settlement on the Columbia, so that the United States might dominate this region, was not in harmony with their national sentiments. They were British in thought and sympathy, even as partners in an American enterprise, and could not be relied upon to support the interests of the United States when they came in conflict in the disputed territory with those of Great Britain, as represented by the great company in which they had

received their training and to which they were attached by the strongest ties which time and association can weave. In an enterprise so purely American and of such deep political significance, Washington's injunction to "Put none but Americans on guard" should have been wisely heeded; and the failure so to do was most disastrous in its consequences. These men were Alexander McKay (father of the well known Tom McKay and grandfather of Dr. William C. McKay, of Pendleton, Oregon), who had accompanied Mackenzie on both of his great journeys, Duncan McDougal, David and Robert Stuart, and Donald McKenzie. So far from undertaking to Americanize themselves, these gentlemen took the precaution before leaving Canada to provide themselves with proofs of their British citizenship, to be used for their protection in case of future difficulties between the two nations. Had this been known to Mr. Astor it would doubtless have put a sudden termination to their connection with the enterprise. Only one American, Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey, was an interested partner from the first, and to him was entrusted the management of the enterprise on the Pacific Coast.

The first movement was made on the second of August, 1810, when the ship *Tonquin* sailed from New York for the mouth of the Columbia, commanded by Captain Jonathan Thorn, a Lieutenant of the United States Navy, on leave of absence. She mounted ten guns, had a crew of twenty men, and carried a large cargo of supplies for the company, and merchandise for trading with the natives, as well as implements and seeds for cultivating the soil, and the fame of a small schooner for use in trading along the coast. She carried, as passengers, McKay, McDougal, the two Stuarts, twelve clerks (among them Tom McKay), several artisans, and thirteen Canadian voyageurs. The voyage was uneventful, except as regards the dissensions that arose between the American Captain and the Scotch partners. Captain Thorn was a strict disciplinarian. He possessed great respect for himself as an officer of the American Navy, and had inherited from Revolutionary sires a lasting contempt for "Britishers." He considered the authority of a commander on the deck of his vessel as supreme, even to the point of autoeracy, and he made the Scotchmen understand this idea the first time they undertook to exercise any of the authority they conceived

themselves to be possessed of as partners in the company. He informed them that when they were on shore they could do as they pleased, but when they were on board of his vessel they must do as he pleased or be put in irons. He held himself responsible in his management of the *Tonquin* solely to Mr. Astor, from whom he had received his instructions, and would brook no interference whatever from the lesser partners, whom he considered as simply passengers. It may well be imagined that when the ship reached the Columbia Bar, on the twenty-second of the following March, after a voyage of nearly eight months, the snubbed partners were delighted at the prospect of soon setting foot on shore, where they could exercise a little of that authority which had been so completely bottled up; while Captain Thorn was equally pleased to be rid of his passengers, who had been a continual source of annoyance during the voyage.

When the *Tonquin* arrived off the bar the weather was stormy and the breakers rolled high. He feared to take his vessel across an unknown bar in such a rough sea. This fear was not a personal one, for he was as brave as he was headstrong, but was solely in reference to the safety of his vessel, to secure which he would have forfeited his own life and those of his entire crew, had it been necessary to do so. He accordingly ordered Mr. Fox, the first mate, to take a whale boat, with a crew of one seaman and three Canadians, and explore the channel. Although it was almost certain death to make the attempt, Mr. Fox expressed a willingness to undertake it if he were provided with a crew of seamen instead of the green Canadians; but the willful captain insisted upon the execution of his order as originally given. The surging billows soon engulfed the boat and its brave crew, and they were seen no more. The next day another boat was sent on the same errand, and was swept out to sea by the tide and current, and only one of its occupants finally reached land in safety. Just as darkness closed down upon the scene, on the second day, the *Tonquin* succeeded in crossing, and anchored just within the bar, where the wind and ebbing tide threatened to sweep her from her precarious hold upon the sands and swamp her amid the rolling breakers. The night was an anxious and distressful one. Irving says: "The wind whistled, the sea roared, the gloom was only broken by the ghastly glare of the

foaming breakers, the minds of the seamen were full of dreary apprehensions, and some of them fancied they heard the cries of their lost comrades mingling with the uproar of the elements." In the morning the *Tonquin* passed safely in and came to anchor in a good harbor.

On the twelfth of April the partners began the erection of a fort on the south side of the river, on a point which Lieutenant Broughton had named "Point George." This was christened "Astoria," in honor of the founder and chief promoter of the enterprise, a name now borne by a thriving commercial city, which marks the spot where America first planted her foot squarely upon the disputed territory of Oregon. After much delay and continued wrangling over their respective authority, a store-house was built and the supplies landed; and on the fifth of June, before the fort was completed, Captain Thorn sailed northward to engage in trade with the Indians, and to open that friendly communication with the Russian settlements which formed such an important feature of Mr. Astor's plan. With him went Alexander McKay, the only partner who had possessed the good sense to refrain from wrangling with the irascible captain.

He came to anchor in one of the harbors on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and Mr. McKay went ashore. During his absence the vessel was surrounded by a host of savages in their canoes, who soon swarmed upon the decks. They were eager to trade, but had evidently had considerable experience in dealing with the whites and were well posted upon the value of their furs, for they resolutely demanded a higher price than Captain Thorn was willing to pay. Provoked beyond measure at their stubbornness, Thorn refused to deal with them, whereupon they became exceedingly insolent. The Captain at last completely lost his temper, and seizing the old chief, Nookamis, who was following him about and taunting him with his stinginess, rubbed in his face an otter skin he had been endeavoring to sell. He then ordered the whole band to leave the ship, and added blows to enforce his command. The tragic ending of this adventure is thus related by Irving:—

When Mr. McKay returned on board, the interpreter related what had passed, and begged him to prevail upon the Captain to make sail, as, from his knowledge of the temper and pride of the people of the place, he was sure they would resent the indignity offered to one of their chiefs. Mr. McKay, who himself possessed

some experience of Indian character, went to the Captain, who was still pacing the deck in moody humor, represented the danger to which his hasty act had exposed the vessel, and urged upon him to weigh anchor. The Captain made light of his counsels, and pointed to his cannon and fire-arms as a sufficient safeguard against naked savages. Further remonstrance only provoked taunting replies and sharp altercations. The day passed away without any signs of hostility, and at night the Captain retired, as usual, to his cabin, taking no more than usual precautions. On the following morning, at daybreak, while the Captain and Mr. McKay were yet asleep, a canoe came alongside in which were twenty Indians, commanded by young Shewish. They were unarmed, their aspect and demeanor friendly, and they held up otter skins, and made signs indicative of a wish to trade. The caution enjoined by Mr. Astor in respect to the admission of Indians on board of the ship, had been neglected for some time past, and the officer of the watch, perceiving those in the canoes to be without weapons, and having received no orders to the contrary, readily permitted them to mount the deck. Another canoe soon succeeded, the crew of which was likewise admitted. In a little while other canoes came off, and Indians were soon clambering into the vessel on all sides.

The officer of the watch now felt alarmed, and called to Captain Thorn and Mr. McKay. By the time they came on deck, it was thronged with Indians. The Interpreter noticed to Mr. McKay that many of the natives wore short mantles of skins, and intimated a suspicion that they were secretly armed. Mr. McKay urged the Captain to clear the ship and get under way. He again made light of the advice; but the augmented swarm of canoes about the ship, and the numbers still putting off from the shore, at length awakened his distrust, and he ordered some of the crew to weigh anchor, while some were sent aloft to make sail. The Indians now offered to trade with the Captain on his own terms, prompted, apparently, by the approaching departure of the ship. Accordingly, a hurried trade was commenced. The main articles sought by the savages in barter, were knives; as fast as some were supplied they moved off and others succeeded. By degrees they were thus distributed about the deck, and all with weapons. The anchor was now nearly up, the sails were loose, and the Captain, in a loud and pre-emptory tone, ordered the ship to be cleared. In an instant a signal yell was given; it was echoed on every side, knives and war clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed upon their marked victims.

The first that fell was Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk. He was leaning, with folded arms, over a bale of blankets, engaged in bargaining, when he received a deadly stab in the back, and fell down the companionway. Mr. McKay, who was seated on the taffrail, sprang to his feet, but was instantly knocked down with a war-club and flung backwards into the sea, where he was dispatched by the women in the canoes. In the meantime, Captain Thorn made desperate fight against fearful odds. He was a powerful as well as resolute man, but he came upon deck without weapons. Shewish, the young chief, singled him out as his peculiar prey, and rushed upon him at the first outbreak. The Captain had barely time to draw a clasp-knife, with one blow of which he laid the young savage dead at his feet. Several of the stoutest followers of Shewish now set upon him. He defended himself vigorously, dealing crippling blows to right and left, and strewing the quarterdeck with the slain and wounded. His object was to fight his way to the cabin, where there were fire-arms; but he was hemmed in with foes, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. For an instant he leaned upon the tiller wheel, when a blow from behind, with a war-club, felled him to the deck, where he was dispatched with knives and thrown overboard.

While this was transacting upon the quarterdeck, a chance medley was going on throughout the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes

and whatever weapons they could seize upon in the moment of surprise. They were soon, however, overpowered by numbers and mercilessly butchered. As to the seven who had been sent aloft to make sail, they contemplated with horror the carnage that was going on below. Being destitute of weapons, they let themselves down by the running rigging, in hopes of getting between decks. One fell in the attempt, and was instantly dispatched; another received a death-blow in the back as he was descending; a third, Stephen Weeks, the armorer, was mortally wounded as he was getting down the hatchway. The remaining four made good their retreat into the cabin, where they found Mr. Lewis still alive, though mortally wounded. Barricading the cabin door, they broke holes through the companion-way, and, with muskets and ammunition which were at hand, opened a brisk fire that soon cleared the deck. Thus far the Indian interpreter, from whom these particulars are derived, had been an eye-witness of the deadly conflict. He had taken no part in it and had been spared by the natives as being of their race. In the confusion of the moment he took refuge with the rest, in the canoes. The survivors of the crew now sallied forth and discharged some of the deck guns, which did great execution among the canoes and drove all the savages to shore.

For the remainder of the day no one ventured to put off to the ship, deterred by the effects of the fire-arms. The night passed away without any further attempt on the part of the natives. When day dawned the *Tonquin* still lay at anchor in the bay, her sails all loose and flapping in the wind, and no one apparently on board of her. After a time, some of the canoes ventured forth to reconnoitre, taking with them the interpreter. They paddled about her, keeping cautiously at a distance, but growing more and more emboldened at seeing her quiet and lifeless. One man at length made his appearance on the deck and was recognized by the interpreter as Mr. Lewis. He made friendly signs and invited them on board. It was long before they ventured to comply. Those who mounted the deck met with no opposition; no one was to be seen on board, for Mr. Lewis, after inviting them, had disappeared. Other canoes now pressed forward to board the prize; the decks were soon crowded and the sides covered with clambering savages, all intent on plunder. In the midst of their eagerness and exultation, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. Arms, legs and mutilated bodies were blown into the air, and dreadful havoc was made in the surrounding canoes. The interpreter was in the main chains at the time of the explosion, and was thrown unhurt into the water, where he succeeded in getting into one of the canoes. According to his statement the bay presented an awful spectacle after the catastrophe. The ship had disappeared, but the bay was covered with fragments of the wreck, with shattered canoes, and Indians swimming for their lives or struggling in the agonies of death; while those who had escaped the danger remained aghast and stupefied, or made with frantic panic for the shore. Upwards of a hundred savages were destroyed by the explosion, many more were shockingly mutilated, and for days afterwards the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach.

The inhabitants of Neweetee were overwhelmed with consternation at this astounding calamity which had burst upon them in the very moment of triumph. The warriors sat mute and mournful, while the women filled the air with loud lamentations. Their weeping and wailing, however, was suddenly changed into yells of fury at the sight of four unfortunate white men brought captive into the village. They had been driven on shore in one of the ship's boats, and taken at some distance along the coast. The interpreter was permitted to converse with them. They proved to be the four brave fellows who had made such desperate defense from the cabin. The interpreter gathered from them some of the particulars already related. They told him further that, after they had beaten off the enemy, and cleared the ship, Lewis advised that they should slip the cable and endeavor to get to sea.

They declined to take his advice, alleging that the wind set too strongly into the bay, and would drive them on shore. They resolved, as soon as it was dark, to put off quietly in the ship's boat, which they would be able to do unperceived, and to coast along back to Astoria. They put their resolution into effect; but Lewis refused to accompany them, being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape and determined on a terrible revenge. On the voyage out he had frequently expressed a presentiment that he should die by his own hands—thinking it highly probable that he should be engaged in some contests with the natives, and being resolved, in case of extremity, to commit suicide rather than be made a prisoner. He now declared his intention to remain on the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine and terminate his life by a single act of vengeance. How well he succeeded has been shown. His companions bade him a melancholy adieu and set off on their precarious expedition. They strove with might and main to get out of the bay, but found it impossible to weather a point of land, and were at length compelled to take shelter in a small cove, where they hoped to remain concealed until the wind should be more favorable. Exhausted by fatigue and watching, they fell into a sound sleep, and in that state were surprised by the savages. Better had it been for those unfortunate men had they remained with Lewis and shared his heroic death; as it was, they perished in a more painful and protracted manner, being sacrificed by the natives to the manes of their friends with all the lingering tortures of savage cruelty. Some time after their death the interpreter, who had remained a kind of prisoner at large, effected his escape and brought the tragical tidings to Astoria.

While this sad tragedy was being enacted, affairs progressed rapidly at Astoria. The fort was completed and everything was placed in readiness for an opening of the expected large trade with the natives of the Columbia. On the fifteenth of July a canoe, manned by nine white men, was observed descending the river, and when they landed at the fort they were found to be a party of employees of the powerful Northwest Company, headed by David Thompson, a partner in that great organization. He had been dispatched from Montreal the year before, for the purpose of taking possession of the mouth of the Columbia before the Astor party should arrive. He had experienced much hardship, disappointment and delay; had been deserted by nearly all his party, and now, with but a few faithful ones, he arrived too late to accomplish his mission. The Americans were in possession. The Northwest Company held a warm place in McDougal's heart, and as that gentleman was in charge at Astoria, Thompson received a cordial welcome, and was bountifully supplied with provisions and necessaries for his return journey, notwithstanding the fact that he was but a spy upon his hosts. When he set out upon his return, eight days later, he was entrusted with a letter to Mr. Astor, giving the president of the company information of the safe arrival of the *Tonquin*,

the founding of Astoria, and the absence of the vessel upon a trading voyage to the north, for the destruction of the ship and tragic death of the crew were as yet unknown at the fort. With Thompson went David Stuart, at the head of a party of nine men, with instructions to establish a post on the Upper Columbia. This he accomplished by founding Fort Okinagan, near the mouth of the Okinagan River. In the fall Stuart sent half his men back to Astoria, not having sufficient provisions to subsist them all through the winter. The schooner whose frame had been brought out in the *Tonquin*, was constructed during the summer, and was launched on the second of October, receiving the name of *Dolly*. She was the third craft constructed on the upper coast, and the first built along the Columbia River. While these steps were being taken by the party which reached Astoria by sea, the other one which attempted the overland journey was suffering terrible hardships.

The land party was under the command of Wilson Price Hunt, and was composed of McKenzie and three new partners, Ramsey Crooks, Joseph Miller and Robert McLellan; also, John Day, a noted Kentucky hunter; Pierre Dorion, a French half-breed interpreter, and enough trappers, voyageurs, etc., to make a total of sixty people. They reached Fort Henry, on Snake River, October 8, 1811. Small detachments were, from time to time, sent out in the Rocky Mountains to trap, who were to use Fort Henry as a base of supplies and a depot for furs.

The remainder of the party continued the journey down Snake River and met with a continuous succession of disasters. Antoine Clappin was drowned in passing a rapid, and soon after famine reduced them to a pitiable condition. They were finally forced to separate into small detachments, one party going under Crooks, another under McKenzie, and a third under Hunt, with the hope that by such a division their chances for reaching the mouth of the Columbia would be increased. Once the parties under Crooks and Hunt camped with only the narrow, turbulent waters of Snake River separating them. The Hunt party had killed a horse and were cooking it, while their starving companions on the opposite side of the stream, with no means of crossing it, were forced to look on as they dined. Not a man in Mr. Hunt's camp would make an effort to send them food, until the arrival of Mr. Crooks, who, discovering

the condition of his men on the opposite side, called to the forlorn band to start fires for cooking, that no time might be lost, while he constructed a canoe out of skins in which to take the meat across to them. In vain he tried to shame the more fortunate into helping to succor their famishing companions, but "A vague and almost superstitious terror," says Irving, "had infected the minds of Mr. Hunt's followers, enfeebled and rendered imaginative of horrors by the dismal scenes and sufferings through which they had passed. They regarded the haggard crew, hovering like spectres of famine on the opposite bank, with indefinite feelings of awe and apprehension, as if something desperate and dangerous was to be feared from them." When the canoe was finished, Mr. Crooks attempted to navigate the impetuous stream with it, but found his strength unequal to the task, and failing to reach his companions on the opposite bank, made another appeal to Hunt's men. Finally, a Kentuckian, named Ben. Jones, undertook and made the passage, conveying meat to them and then came back. Irving, in describing the sad scene, says:—

A poor Canadian, however, named Jean Baptiste Prevost, whom famine had rendered wild and desperate, ran frantically about the banks, after Jones had returned, crying out to Mr. Hunt to send the canoe for him, and take him from that horrible region of famine, declaring that otherwise he would never march another step, but would lie down there and die. The canoe was shortly sent over again, under the management of Joseph Delaunay, with further supplies. Prevost immediately pressed forward to embark. Delaunay refused to admit him, telling him that there was now a sufficient supply of meat on his side of the river. He replied that it was not cooked, and he should starve before it was ready; he implored, therefore, to be taken where he could get something to appease his hunger immediately. Finding the canoe putting off without him, he forced himself aboard. As he drew near the opposite shore, and beheld meat roasting before the fire, he jumped up, shouted, clapped his hands, and danced in a delirium of joy, until he upset the canoe. The poor wretch was swept away by the current and drowned, and it was with extreme difficulty that Delaunay reached the shore. Mr. Hunt now sent all his men forward excepting two or three. In the evening, he caused another horse to be killed, and a canoe to be made out of the skin, in which he sent over a further supply of meat to the opposite party. The canoe brought back John Day, the Kentucky hunter, who came to join his former commander and employer, Mr. Crooks. Poor Day, once so active and vigorous, was now reduced to a condition even more feeble and emaciated than his companions. Mr. Crooks had such a value for the man, on account of his past services and faithful character, that he determined not to quit him; he exhorted Mr. Hunt, however, to proceed forward and join the party, as his presence was all important to the conduct of the expedition. One of the Canadians, Jean Baptiste Dubreuil, likewise remained with Mr. Crooks.

The occurrences at this starvation camp were on the twentieth of

December, 1811, both parties being on their way up Snake River after having found the descent of that stream impossible.

It was now their intention to strike across the country for the Columbia, as soon as it was practicable to do so. On the twenty-third of December, Mr Hunt's followers crossed to the west side of the stream, where they were joined by Crook's men, who were already there. The two parties, when united, numbered thirty-six souls, and on the next day they turned from the river into a trackless country; but, before starting, three more of their number had concluded to remain among the savages rather than face the hardships and trials that lay before them. December 28, 1811, the head waters of Grand Ronde River were reached, and the last day of that year found them encamped in the valley of that name. Through all their perils and wanderings since leaving St. Louis, one woman, the Indian wife of Pierre Dorion, a guide, interpreter and trapper, had accompanied them, bringing with her two children, and, as the party entered the Grand Ronde Valley, she gave birth to another. The next day she continued the journey on horseback as though nothing had happened, but the little stranger only lived six days. Mr. Hunt, after halting one or two days to enable his followers to celebrate, in their forlorn way, the advent of a new year that had presented to them the Grand Ronde Valley, a kind of winter paradise in the mountains, continued his course to the west. The Blue Mountain ridge was passed, and January 8, 1812, an Indian village on the Umatilla River close to the mountains was reached, where they were hospitably received. From there their route was down this stream to the Columbia River, thence to the mouth of the latter, arriving at Astoria February 15, 1812.

Since leaving Fort Henry, October 19, 1811, out of Mr. Hunt's party, two men had been drowned on Snake River, and poor Michael Carriere, when exhausted, had straggled behind in Grand Ronde Valley, and was never heard from afterwards. Ramsey Crooks, John Day and four Canadian voyageurs had been left half dead on Snake River, to remain in the Indian country, die, or reach the Columbia as best they could. Eleven men, among whom were Donald McKenzie, Robert McLellan and the unfortunate John Reed, had been detached on Snake River, and following that stream until its waters mingled with the Columbia, had reached Astoria a

month in advance of Mr. Hunt. Mr. Stuart, when returning from his post on the Okinagan, during the first days of April, found Mr. Crooks and John Day on the banks of the Columbia River, without weapons, nearly starved, and as naked as when born, having been robbed and stripped by the Dalles Indians. They had wintered in the Blue Mountains about Grand Ronde Valley, and in the spring had reached the Walla Walla, who had fed, succored them, and sent them on their way rejoicing down the river. When found, they were making their way back to these early friends of the Americans, who never failed to assist our people when in trouble. At length all but three of those starting from the head waters of the Snake River for Astoria had reached that place, except the four voyageurs, and later they, too, were found by a return party.

On the ninth of May, the ship *Beaver*, with reinforcements and supplies, anchored at Astoria, and the Pacific Fur Company was in condition to enter upon a vigorous fur-gathering campaign. Mr. Hunt, who was at the head of affairs, set out in July for Alaska to fulfill the mission upon which the ill-fated *Tonquin* had sailed, and his departure left Duncan McDougal in charge. Prior to this, however, the various expeditions to trap waters and trade with natives between the Rocky and Cascade Mountains had started, sixty-two strong, up the Columbia. Among the number was the unfortunate John Day, and, as the party approached the scenes of his former sufferings, his mind became delirious, and the mere sight of an Indian would throw him into a frenzy of passion. He finally attempted his own life, but was prevented from taking it, after which a constant guard was kept over him. It was at length determined to send him back to Astoria, and being placed in charge of two Indians, he was delivered by them at the fort, where he died in less than a year. His old compeers and staunch friends, who had shared perils and privations with him, were forced to continue their journey with a sad memory of this companion, whose brain had been shattered by his many misfortunes. The stream which had witnessed his sufferings still bears the heroic trapper's name. The arrival of trappers at the present site of Wallula, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1812, was the signal for general rejoicing among the friendly Walla Walla, who greeted them with bonfires and a night dance, in which they sang the praises of their white friends. Here

the four expeditions were to separate, Robert Stuart to cross the continent by Hunt's route; David Stuart to go up the Columbia to Okinagan; Donald McKenzie to establish a post in the Nez Perce country; and John Clarke to locate one among the Spokane Indians. Of these several expeditions, Robert Stuart, with his party, including Crooks and McLellan, reached St. Louis eleven months later, bearing news to Mr. Astor of his enterprise on the Pacific Coast. McKenzie's operations were a failure; David Stuart's success was equal to his most sanguine hopes, and Mr. Clarke's efforts resulted second only to those of Mr. Stuart.

On the twenty-fifth of May, 1813, Mr. Clarke started from his post on the Spokane to reach the Walla Walla, the place agreed upon as a general rendezvous, where the different expeditions were to meet and return to Astoria with the furs obtained in their operations during the past season. On his way up, Mr. Clarke had left his canoes in charge of a Palouse chief, living at the mouth of the river of that name, with whom he found them on his return. He had twenty-eight horse packs of furs, and all his men were in high spirits because of the success that had attended their year's work. While stopping at the mouth of this stream to repair their canoes, in which to embark upon the river, an incident happened that can not well be passed in silence. Mr. Clarke was a strong disciplinarian, something of an aristocrat, and disposed to impress those with whom he came in contact with the dignity of his presence and person. He was in the habit of carrying a silver goblet to drink from, and the glittering object carefully guarded by its possessor, had a strange fascination for the superstitious Indians. In all their land, no such wondrous device had been seen before. They talked to each other concerning it, watched its appearance, and the care with which the lucky possessor laid it away after using. They believed it to be a great medicine, like the spotted shirt and the white quilt among the *Cœur d'Alenes*, a powerful talisman to shield its owner from harm. One night it disappeared, and Mr. Clarke was enraged. He threatened to hang the first Indian detected in stealing, and the next night an unfortunate one was caught in the act. A hasty trial followed, and the prisoner was condemned to die, when Mr. Clarke made the assembled savages a speech. He recounted the numerous gifts that had been be-

stowed, the benefit the white man's presence had been to their people, and then, upbraiding them for thefts, told the Indians that he should kill the thief he had captured with pilfered goods. The old chief and his followers besought him not to do this. They were willing that he should be punished severely, and then let go, but the trapper was inexorable, and the poor groveling wretch was dragged to a temporary scaffold, constructed from oars, and was launched into eternity. The other partners of the Pacific Fur Company were unanimous in condemning this act, and Gabriel Franchere, who was one of the company clerks, wrote concerning the killing of the unfortunate John Reed and his party by Indians during the ensuing winter: "We had no doubt that his massacre was an act of vengeance, on the part of the natives, in retaliation for the death of one of their people, whom Mr. John Clarke had hanged for theft the spring before."* Immediately after this hanging the party embarked for the mouth of the Walla Walla, where Stuart and McKenzie were waiting, and from this point they all continued their way down the river, arriving at Astoria, June 12, 1813.

Upon re-assembling at head quarters, the return expeditions found that, upon the whole, it had been a successful year's labor; that the peltry brought in, amounting to one hundred and fifty-seven packs, if sold at market rates in Canton, would pay well for the time spent, and reimburse them for local losses. In addition to this, they had become well established in the fur-producing regions, and the outlook was very encouraging except for one thing. War had been raging between Great Britain and the United States for over a year, and they had recently become aware of the fact. On their arrival at Astoria, J. G. McTavish, with nineteen men, was found camped near by, awaiting the appearance of a vessel called the *Isaac Todd*, sent by the Northwest Company with stores for them, and bearing letters of marque, and instructions from the British Government to destroy everything American found on the Pacific Coast. This latter fact was unknown at Astoria at the time, however, but the non-arrival of supplies by sea, combined with the unfavorable news of British success in arms, led the partners to fear that none whatever would reach them. They, consequently, determined to

* This is undoubtedly incorrect, as Reed's party was killed near Fort Henry, several hundred miles distant, and by a totally distinct tribe of Indians.

abandon the country and start on their return overland the ensuing year, if their misgivings proved well founded. They sold their Spokane fort to McTavish for \$848, and then furnished that gentleman with provisions to enable him to return to the upper country, and, in July, they visited the interior themselves, to gather what furs they could before taking final leave of the country. Three months later, McTavish returned to Astoria with a force of seventy-five men, for the purpose of meeting the vessel that had caused his former visit, bringing, also, the news that her coming to the Columbia was for the purpose of capturing Astoria, and to assist the Northwest Company in gaining ascendancy on the coast. He offered to buy the furs of the Astorians, and, on the sixteenth of October, 1813, a transfer of the entire stock, worth at least \$700,000, was made for less than \$40,000. Two months later, on December 12th, the fort was surrendered to the English under command of a naval officer, Captain Black of the *Raccoon*, when the American flag was lowered to give the British colors place, and the name of Astoria was changed to "Fort George." An amusing incident of this transfer is related by John Ross Cox:—

The Indians, at the mouth of the Columbia, knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and McTavish, the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the *Raccoon* which they quickly discovered to be one of "King George's fighting ships," they repaired, armed, to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougal. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Concomitantly, the principal chief of the Chinooks (whose daughter McDougal had married), thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves, and that, as they (the Americans) were the first white men who settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they had resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods close to the wharf, from whence they would be able, with their guns and arrows, to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was uttered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity. Two armed boats from the *Raccoon* were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man in them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer, but added, that, notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him or any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them, in the most positive manner, that he was under no apprehension, they con-

sented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougal's wishes, for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flag-staff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked that however he might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves.

Seventy-eight days after the surrender of Astoria to the British, Mr. Hunt arrived at that fort in the brig *Pedlar*, and judge of his astonishment to learn that McDougal was no longer a partner of the Pacific, but of the Northwest, Company; that he held possession, not under the American, but under the British, flag; and that all in which Mr. Hunt was interested on this coast had passed, without a struggle, through treachery, into the hands of his country's enemies. Mr. Hunt, finally, secured the papers pertaining to business transactions of the Pacific Fur Company from McDougal, and then sailed, April 3, 1814, from the shore that had seemed to yield only misfortune and disaster in return for the efforts of himself, and those with whom he was associated. The next day, David Stuart, McKenzie, John Clarke and eighty-five other members and employees of the Pacific Fur Company, started up the Columbia River in their boats on their way across the continent, and while passing Wallula, learned from the widow of Pierre Dorion, of the massacre of John Reed and his eight associates, among the Snake Indians near Fort Henry.

Thus matters remained until the war of 1812 was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent, by which it was stipulated that "all territory, places and possessions, whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, shall be restored without delay." The commissioners could not agree upon a line of division between the possessions of England and the United States west of the Lake of the Woods, so the Oregon question was left for further discussion, and the Columbia remained disputed territory. Mr. Astor at once applied to the President for restitution of his property under the terms of the treaty, as he not only desired to recover his losses, but to resume operations on the Columbia and carry out the plan of American occupation which had been so well begun. Accordingly, in July, 1815, the government notified the British Minister at Washington that it would immediately reoccupy the captured fort at the mouth of

the Columbia; but the notification elicited no official response from Great Britain. For two years no active measures were taken, and, finally, in September, 1817, the sloop of war *Ontario* was dispatched to the Columbia, commanded by Captain J. Biddle, who, with J. B. Prevost, who went as a passenger, constituted a commission to accomplish the purpose declared. They were instructed to assert the claim of the United States to sovereignty over the region of the Columbia, but to do so in an inoffensive manner.

This step compelled Great Britain to define her position. Her representative at Washington officially inquired of Secretary Adams the destination and object of the *Ontario*, and with the information he received in response to his query was the intimation, that since England had paid no attention to the notice given her two years before, it had been assumed that she had no intention of claiming any sovereign rights along the Columbia. In answer to this the British Minister stated that the post at the mouth of the Columbia was the private property of the Northwest Company, having been purchased by its agent from a partner of Mr. Astor; furthermore, that it was situated in a region long occupied by that company, (referring, presumably, to the establishment on Fraser River, many hundred miles to the north), and was consequently considered a portion of His Majesty's dominions. Quite a spirited correspondence was maintained for some time, involving on each side the questions of abstract rights by discovery and absolute rights by possession, both parties to the controversy basing a claim upon each of these foundations. As the claims then put forward remained practically the same until the question was settled in 1846—with a modification only in the direction of additional settlements made between these periods—it is well to define here the position assumed by the contending parties.

The United States claimed Oregon under four distinct titles: First, as a portion of Louisiana, purchased from France in 1803; second, by right of discovery by the Spanish explorers—Ferrello, Aguilar, Perez, Heceta, Bodega y Quadra, and others—the benefit of whose discoveries accrued to the United States by the Florida purchase made in 1819, denying at the same time that Sir Francis Drake proceeded north of the forty-third degree, a point claimed to have been previously reached by Ferrello [The Spanish title was not

asserted, of course, until after the purchase, being subsequent to the first temporary settlement of the question]; third, by reason of the discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray, claiming that Heceta, Meares and Vancouver had all declared that no river existed there, and that Broughton had simply entered it subsequent to its discovery by Gray, and explored it a few miles further up; fourth, by reason of the explorations of Captains Lewis and Clarke, and the establishment of posts at Astoria, Okinagan and Spokane by the Pacific Fur Company, denying that the sale of those posts, effected under the duress of threatened capture by a man-of-war, was such as to affect the right of the United States to the benefits to be derived from settlements made by her subjects, especially in view of the terms of the treaty of peace. On the part of Great Britain it was claimed that the country was originally discovered by Sir Francis Drake, and its coast thoroughly explored by Captain Cook and Captain Vancouver; that the discovery of the Columbia had been a progressive one, the successive steps having been taken by Heceta, Meares, Vancouver, Gray and Broughton, claiming that Gray had not entered the river proper, but simply the estuary at its mouth, and that Broughton was the first to actually enter and explore the Columbia, and denying that Gray, who was simply a trader, could acquire discovery rights for his government; and, finally, that she held the country by right of exploration and possession, since McKenzie had made an overland journey prior to that of Lewis and Clarke, Fraser had built a fort on Fraser Lake before Astoria was founded, and the Northwest Company, having purchased at private sale the property of the Pacific Fur Company, then held possession of the Columbia region by means of settlements at Astoria and other points along the river.

Such were the claims advanced by the two nations for possession of Oregon, there being many undeniable rights and equities on either side. A temporary agreement was affected in a few months, by which it was decided that Astoria and the other posts should remain the actual property of the Northwest Company, but that nominal possession should be given to the United States as a nation, the question of title being deferred for future negotiation. This decision was a severe blow to the hopes of Mr. Astor, who had looked to the Government to place him in possession of the prop-

erty which he had lost through the fortunes of war and the treachery of one of his partners. So firmly intrenched was the Northwest Company that he did not deem it advisable to found a rival establishment, and he abandoned his effort to engage in the fur trade in the Pacific. By thus failing to support its citizens who had undertaken to plant the flag of the United States firmly on the soil of Oregon, the Government jeopardized, almost to total annihilation, its chances for future possession of this region.

While these negotiations were in progress, the *Ontario* was fulfilling her mission. She arrived at Valparaiso in February, 1818, and Mr. Prevost debarked, having an official mission to the Chilean Government. Captain Biddle continued northward, and entered the Columbia in August, taking formal possession of the country in the name of the United States. He then sailed to other portions of the Pacific. Meanwhile, the controversy having been temporarily settled upon the terms outlined above, the British Government delegated Captain Sheriff, of the navy, as commissioner to execute formal transfer of Fort George. The agent of the Northwest Company, Mr. Keith, was also notified by his superior officers of what was about to be done, the orders going overland with the annual Montreal express, and enjoined to offer no opposition to the formal transfer. Captain Sheriff sailed in the frigate *Blossom*, and meeting Mr. Prevost in Chile, offered him passage to the Columbia in his vessel, which courtesy was accepted. The *Blossom* cast anchor at Astoria early in October, and Mr. Keith surrendered formal possession of the property, retaining, of course, actual possession and ownership. A certificate was given Mr. Prevost, stating that Fort George, on the Columbia, had been duly surrendered to him as representative of the United States; and he gave the officers a written acceptance of the transfer. These formal preliminaries having been concluded, the British standard was lowered and the stars and stripes were temporarily displayed upon the walls of the fort, while the guns of the *Blossom* roared a noisy salute. The American ensign was then lowered, and the farce was over. The United States was thus again nominally in possession of Oregon, while the actual possessors were the agents of the Northwest Company, subjects of Great Britain.

Fort George in 1818 was a far different structure from Astoria

as it existed when surrendered to the Northwest Company in 1813. A stockade of pine logs, rising twelve feet above the ground, encompassed a parallelogram 150x250 feet in dimensions. Within this were dwellings, storehouses, magazines, shops, etc. The walls mounted two eighteen-pounders, six six-pounders, four four-pound carronades, two six-pound colbors and seven swivels, an armament sufficient to render it a strong fort in those days. These remained after the surrender, and Fort George was, practically, as much of a British post as before.

The two governments still continued to negotiate on the main point at issue—title to Oregon. Neither would recede from the positions assumed at the beginning of the controversy, and to avoid an open rupture, and with the hope that time would inject a new element into the question, a treaty of procrastination was signed. By this convention it was agreed that all territories and their waters, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be free and open to the vessels and to the use and occupation of the citizens and subjects of both nations for the period of ten years, that no claim of either party should in any manner be prejudiced by this action, and that neither should gain any right of dominion by such use or occupation during the specified term. This treaty of joint occupation remained in force, by extension with mutual consent, until the question was definitely settled in 1846. On the twenty-second of February, 1819, the State Department consummated negotiations which had been in progress for some time, completing the title of the United States as defined in a previous paragraph. This was the signing of a treaty with Spain, by which the Province of Florida was conveyed to the United States, including all the rights, claims and pretensions of Spain to any territories north and east of a line drawn from the source of the Arkansas, north to the forty-second parallel, and thence to the Pacific. This remained the boundary between the United States and Mexico, and between the disputed land of Oregon and the Mexican possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. It still continues to be the southern boundary of Oregon, but ceased to divide the United States from Mexico when California, New Mexico and Arizona were conquered or purchased.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RIVAL FUR COMPANIES.

Growth and Power of the Northwest Company—Rivalry between it and the Hudson's Bay Company—The Red River War—Barrows' Description of the Hudson's Bay Company—The Canadian Voyageurs—Fort Vancouver Founded—Dunn's Description of the Fort and the Methods of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon.

THE Northwest Company had now full control of Oregon, but a fierce and bloody struggle was going on between it and the older Hudson's Bay Company, for possession of the fur regions of America. The companies had grown too large to be tolerant of each other; one must go the wall. When first organized the old company, enjoying chartered privileges and supreme monopoly of a vast extent of territory, laughed with derision at the idea that a few independent traders could so combine as to become dangerous rivals; but that such was the fact was quickly demonstrated. The Northwest Company began operations on a thorough system, by which it was soon developed into a powerful and wealthy corporation. All its managing agents were interested partners, who naturally did their utmost to swell the receipts. In the plenitude of its power it gave employment to two thousand voyageurs, while its agents penetrated the wilderness in all directions in search of furs. It was the pioneer of the Northwest. While the chartered monopoly clung like a burr to its granted limits, the new organization was exploring and taking possession of that vast region lying between Lake Superior and the Pacific, from the Missouri to the Arctic Ocean. It has been shown how Mackenzie made a journey to the Arctic and another to the Pacific, and how his footsteps were followed by Fraser and a post established in the extreme west. While the old company was sluggishly awaiting the advent of Indians at

the few posts it had established in central locations, the rival organization sent its agents out to trade with the tribes far and near. The result was that all the tribes, except those in the immediate vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company forts, were gradually won to an alliance with the younger and more vigorous organization. The collection of furs was so over-stimulated that a complete extinction of fur-bearing animals was threatened. A systematic effort was being made to drive the old company from the most valuable beaver country, and to so cripple it that a surrender of its charter would become necessary.

The result of this aggressive policy was to arouse the Hudson's Bay Company to a realizing sense of the precarious condition of affairs, and the necessity of taking energetic steps to recover the lost ground. Its efforts to do this soon resulted in hostile collisions between its representatives and agents of the rival company, leading to a state of war between them. The first act of actual hostility, other than mere trade rivalry, was committed in 1806, when a trader of the Hudson's Bay Company was forcibly deprived of four hundred and eighty packs of beaver skins, and a few months later of fifty more. The same year another trader was attacked and robbed of valuable furs by servants of the Northwest Company, and received similar treatment again the following spring. These acts of plundering were numerous, and since no law but the law of might existed in the wilderness, there was no redress for the despoiled company nor punishment for the offenders, since the latter were Canadians and their victims citizens of England and not possessed of facilities for securing redress in the courts of Canada. In twelve years but one case was brought to trial, in 1809, when a Hudson's Bay Company man was convicted of manslaughter for killing an agent of the other company who was making an attack upon him with a sword; and this result was accomplished by the powerful influence of the Northwest Company in Montreal.

In 1812, having received a grant of fertile land from the Hudson's Bay Company, Lord Selkirk, a man of energy and an enthusiast on the subject of colonial emigration, commenced a settlement on Red River near its junction with the Assiniboine, south of Lake Winnipeg. No sooner was this accomplished than the rival company expressed a determination to destroy the settlement, and in

the autumn of 1814 fitted out an expedition for that purpose at its chief establishment, Fort William, on the shore of Lake Superior. After harassing the settlement for some months, an attack was made upon it in June, 1815, which was repulsed. Artillery having been brought up, the buildings of Fort Gibraltar, the stronghold of the settlement, were battered down and the place captured. The governor was sent to Montreal a prisoner, the remainder of the settlers were expelled from the country, the cattle were slaughtered and the buildings demolished. In the fall, however, the colonists returned with a great accession to their numbers and again established themselves under the leadership of Colin Robertson, being accompanied by Robert Semple, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company territories. In the spring of 1816, Alexander McDonnell, a partner of the Northwest Company, collected a strong force with the design of crushing the settlement completely. After capturing the supply train on its way to Red River, the invading force came upon Governor Semple and a force of thirty men all of whom they killed, except one who was made a prisoner and four who escaped. The settlers still remaining in the fort, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, surrendered, and to the number of two hundred were sent in canoes to Hudson's Bay. They were chiefly Scotch, as were also the attacking party; but the love of gain was stronger than the ties of blood.

In 1821 parliament put an end to this bloody feud and ruinous competition by consolidating the rival companies under the name of The Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, by which was created an organization far more powerful than had either been before, and England gained a united and potent agent for the advancement of her interests in America. The settlements on the Red, Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers were renewed, and Winnipeg became in a few years the center of a prosperous community. The new company took possession of Fort George and other posts along the Columbia, and as it thereafter became closely woven into the history of this region, a brief description of its founding, growth and methods becomes necessary to a full understanding of subsequent events. Dr. William Barrows gives the following description of that powerful corporation:

Its two objects, as set forth in its charter, were "for the discovery of a new pas-

sage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals and other considerable commodities." It may well be suspected that the first was the face and the second the soul of the charter, which grants to the company the exclusive right of the "trade and commerce of all those seas, straits and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson Straits," and of all lands bordering them not under any other civilized government. This covered all territory within that immense basin from rim to rim, one edge dipping into the Atlantic and the other looking into the Pacific. Through this vast extent the company was made for "all time hereafter, capable in law, to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and retain lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdiction, franchise, and hereditaments of what kind, nature, or quality soever they be, to them and their successors." The company held that region as a man holds his farm, or as the great bulk of real estate in England is now held. They could legislate over and govern it, bound only by the tenor and spirit of English law, and make war and peace within it; and all persons outside the company could be forbidden to "visit, hunt, frequent, trade, traffic, or adventure" therein. For all this, and as a confession of allegiance to the crown as a dependent colony and province, they were to pay annually as rent "two elk and two black beavers." Cheap rent that, especially since the king or his agent must collect it on the ground of the company. To dwell in the territory or even go across it would be as really a trespass as if it were done on the lawn of a private gentleman in Middlesex county, England.

Such were the chartered rights of a monopoly that, growing bolder and more grasping, became at last continental in sweep, irresistible in power, and inexorable in spirit. In 1821 the crown granted to this and the Northwest Company united, and for a term of twenty-one years, the exclusive right to trade with all Indians in British North America, north and west of the United States, and not included in the first charter. This granted only trade, not ownership in the soil. Thus, while the chartered territory was Imperial, it grew, by granted monopoly of trade, to be continental. By degrees the trappers and traders went over the rim of the Hudson basin, till they reached the Arctic seas along the outlet of the Coppermine and the Mackenzie. They set beaver traps on Yukon and Fraser rivers, around the Athabasca, Slave and Bear Lakes, and on the heads of the Columbia. From the adjacent Pacific shore they lined their treasury with the soft coats of the fur seal and the sea-otter. They were the pioneers of this traffic, and pressed this monopoly of fur on the sources, not only of the Mississippi and Missouri, but down into the Salt Lake basin of modern Utah. What minor and rival companies stood in the way they bought in, or crushed by underselling to the Indians. Individual enterprise in the fur trade, from New Foundland to Vancouver, and from the head waters of the Yellowstone to the mouth of the Mackenzie, was at their mercy. They practically controlled the introduction of supplies and the outgoing of furs and peltries from all the immense region between those four points.

Within the Canadas and the other provinces they held the Indian and the European equally at bay, while within all this vast unorganized wilderness, their hand over red and white man was absolute. At first the company could govern as it pleased, and was autocratic and irresponsible. By additional legislation in 1803, the civil and criminal government of the Canadas was made to follow the company into lands outside their first charter, commonly called Indian countries. The Governor of Lower Canada had the appointing power of officials within those countries—but he did not send in special men; he appointed those connected with the company and on the ground. The company, therefore, had the administration in those outside districts in its own hands. Thus the commercial life of the Canadas was so dependent upon the Hudson's Bay Company that the government could

be counted on to promote the wishes of the company. In brief, the government of British America was practically the Hudson's Bay Company, and for all the privilege and monopoly which it enjoyed, without seeming to demand it, there was an annual payment, if called for, of "two elk and two black beavers."

This company thus became a powerful organization. It had no rival to share the field, or waste the profits in litigation, or in bloody feuds beyond the region of law. [Except the contest between it and the Northwest Company prior to their consolidation.] It extended its lines, multiplied its posts and agents, systematized communication through the immense hunting grounds, economized time and funds by increased expedition, made many of its factories really fortifications, and so put the whole northern interior under British rule, and yet without a soldier. Rivers, lakes, mountains and prairies were covered by its agents and trappers. The white and the red men were on most friendly terms, and the birch canoe and the pirogue were seen carrying, in mixed company, both races, and, what was more, their mixed progeny. The extent of territory under this company seems almost fabulous. It was one-third larger than all Europe; it was larger than the United States of to-day, Alaska included, by half a million of square miles. From the American headquarters at Montreal to the post at Vancouver was a distance of twenty-five hundred miles; to Fort Selkirk on the Yukon, or to the one on Great Bear Lake, it was three thousand miles, and it was still further to the rich fur seal and sea-otter on the tide waters of the Mackenzie. James Bay and Red River at Winnipeg seem near to Montreal in comparison. These distances would compare well with air-line routes from Washington to Dublin, or Gibraltar or Quito.

One contemplates this power with awe and fear, when he regards the even motion and solemn silence and unvarying sameness with which it has done its work through that dreary animal country. It has been said that a hundred years has not changed its bill of goods ordered from London. The company wants the same muskrat and beaver and seal; the Indian hunter, unimproved, and the half-breed European, deteriorating, want the same cotton goods, and flint-lock guns, and tobacco and gew-gaws. To-day, as a hundred years ago, the dog sled runs out from Winnipeg for its solitary drive of five hundred, or two thousand, or even three thousand miles. It glides, silent as a spectre, over these snow fields, and through the solemn, still forests, painfully wanting in animal life. Fifty, seventy, an hundred days it speeds along, and as many nights it camps without fire, and looks up to the same cold stars. At the intervening posts the sledge makes a pause, as a ship, having rounded Cape Horn, heaves to before some lone Pacific island. It is the same at the trader's hut or factory as when the sledge-runner's grandfather drove up, the same dogs, the same half-breeds, or *voyageurs*, to welcome him, the same foul, lounging Indians, and the same mink skin in exchange for the same trinkets. The fur animal and its purchaser and hunter, as the landscape, seem to be alike under the same immutable unprogressive law of nature.

"A land where all things always seem the same,"

as among the lotus-eaters. Human progress and Indian civilization have made scarcely more improvement than that central, silent partner in the Hudson's Bay Company—the beaver.

One feels towards the power of this company, moving thus with evenness and immutability through a hundred years, much as one does towards a law of nature. At Fort Selkirk, for example, the fifty-two numbers of the weekly London *Times* came in on the last sledge arrival. The first number is already three years old, by its tedious voyage from the Thames. Now one number only a week is read, that the lone trader there may have fresh news weekly until the next annual dog-mail arrives, and each successive number is three years behind time when it is opened! In this

day of steamers and telegraphs and telephones, does it seem possible that any human, white habitation can be so outside of the geography and chronology of the world? The goods of the company, packed and shipped in Fenchurch Street, leave London, and at the end of the third year they are delivered at Fort Confidence on Great Bear Lake, or at any other extreme factory of the company; and at the end of three years more the return furs go up the Thames and into Fenchurch Street again. So in cycles of six years, and from age to age, like a planet, the shares in the Hudson's Bay Company make their orbit and dividends. A run of three months and the London ship drops anchor in Hudson's Bay. "For one year," says Butler in his "Great Lone Land," "the stores that she has brought in lie in the warehouse at York Factory; twelve months later they reach Red River; twelve months later they reach Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie."

The original stock of this company was \$50,820. In fifty years it was tripled twice by profits only, and went up to \$457,380, while not one new dollar was paid in. In 1821 the company absorbed the Northwest Company of Montreal, on a basis of value equal to its own. The consolidated stock then was \$1,916,000, of which \$1,780,860 was from profits. Yet, meanwhile, there had been an annual payment of ten per cent. to stockholders. In 1836 one of the company's ships left Fort George for London, with a cargo of furs valued at \$380,000. * * * When the English Government, in '846, conceded the claims of the United States to Oregon, property of the Hudson's Bay Company was found within Oregon for which that company claimed \$1,990,036.67. One can not but admire the foresight, compass, policy, and ability with which those English fur traders moved to gain possession, and then keep in wilderness for fur-bearing, so much of North America.

* * * Travelers tell us of an oppressive, painful silence through all that weird northland. Quadruped life, and the scanty little there is of bird life, is not vocal, much less musical. This company has partaken of the silence of its domain. It makes but little noise for so great an organization. It says but few things, and only the necessary ones, and even those with an obscurity often, that only the interested and initiated understand. The statements of its works and results are mostly in the passive voice.

The voyageurs, so often spoken of in connections with the fur companies, were a special outgrowth of the fur trade, and are deserving of more than a passing notice. Irving thus describes them:—

The voyageurs may be said to have sprung up out of the fur trade, having originally been employed by the early French merchants in their trading expeditions through the labyrinth of rivers and lakes of the boundless interior. In the intervals of their long, arduous and laborious expeditions, they were wont to pass their time in idleness and revelry about the trading posts or settlements; squandering their hard earnings in heedless conviviality, and rivalling their neighbors, the Indians, in indolent indulgence and imprudent disregard of the morrow. When Canada passed under British domination, and the old French trading houses were broken up, the voyageurs were for a time disheartened and disconsolate, and with difficulty could reconcile themselves to the service of the new comers, so different in habits, manners and language from their former employers. By degrees, however, they became accustomed to the change, and at length came to consider the British fur traders, and especially the members of the Northwest Company, as the legitimate lords of creation. The dress of these people is generally half civilized, half savage. They wear a capot or surcoat, made of a blanket, a striped cotton shirt, cloth trousers, or leathern leggings, moccasins of deer skin, and a belt of variegated

worsted, from which are suspended the knife, tobacco pouch, and other implements. Their language is of the same piebald character, being a French patois, embroidered with Indian and English words and phrases. The lives of the voyageurs are passed in wild and extensive roving. They are generally of French descent and inherit much of the gaiety and lightness of heart of their ancestors, being full of anecdote and song, and ever ready for the dance. Their natural good will is probably heightened by a community of adventure and hardship in their precarious and wandering life. They are dexterous boatmen, vigorous and adroit with the oar and paddle, and will row from morning until night without a murmur. The steersman often sings an old traditional French song, with some regular burden in which they all join, keeping time with their oars. In the course of years they will gradually disappear; their songs will die away like the echoes they once awakened, and the Canadian voyageurs will become a forgotten race, or remembered among the poetical images of past times, and as themes for local and romantic associations.

The Northwest Company, in 1821, prior to the consolidation, established a post on the north bank of the Columbia, several miles above the mouth of the Willamette. As this was on the point named "Vancouver" by Lieutenant Broughton, in 1792, the post was christened "Fort Vancouver." In 1823, soon after the consolidation, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company was removed from Fort George to Fort Vancouver, because it possessed the desirable features of such an establishment more fully than any other in this whole region. It was near the mouth of the Willamette and therefore the center and natural converging point of trapping parties coming down the Columbia from the vast wilderness to the east, or with the annual overland express from Montreal; from the rich trapping grounds to the south, or from the upper coast and Puget Sound. Agriculturally, the surroundings were all that could be desired, to raise the large crops of grain and vegetables required at all the Company's posts, and to furnish pasturage for the beef and dairy cattle. It was easily approachable by deep-water vessels of large draft, and presented excellent natural facilities for loading and discharging cargo. The vessels that came at stated periods to bring supplies and carry away the accumulated furs, could spare the few days' of extra time required to ascend the river, better than the employees of the company could spare it in passing to and from headquarters in the transaction of business. Vancouver was the most eligible site on the Columbia for the chief trading post, and remained the company's headquarters until it abandoned this region entirely, in 1858. During the next four years the company spread out in all directions, from California to Alaska, and from the Pacific

to the Rocky Mountains. Some idea can be gained of its power and methods in Oregon from the following description given by John Dunn, for seven years a clerk and trader of the company:—

Fort Vancouver is the grand mart and rendezvous for the company's trade and servants on the Pacific. Thither all the furs and other articles of trade collected west of the Rocky Mountains, from California to the Russian territories, are brought from the several other forts and stations; and from thence they are shipped to England. Thither, too, all the goods brought from England for traffic—the various articles in woollens and cottons, in grocery, in hardware, ready-made clothes, oils and paints, ship stores, etc.—are landed, and from thence they are distributed to the various posts of the interior, and along the northern shores by sailing vessels, or by boats, or pack-horses, as the several routes permit; for distribution and traffic among the natives, or for the supply of the company's servants. In a word, Fort Vancouver is the grand emporium of the company's trade, west of the Rocky Mountains; as well within the Oregon territory as beyond it, from California to Kamtschatka.

The fort is in the shape of a parallelogram, about two hundred and fifty yards long, by one hundred and fifty broad; enclosed by a sort of wooden wall, made of pickets, or large beams, fixed firmly in the ground and closely fitted together, twenty feet high, and strongly secured on the inside by buttresses. At each angle there is a bastion, mounting two twelve-pounders, and in the center there are some eighteen-pounders; but from the subdued and pacific character of the natives, and the long absence of all apprehension, these cannon have become useless. The area within is divided into two courts, around which are arranged about forty neat, strong wooden buildings, one story high, designed for various purposes—such as offices, apartments for the clerks and other officers, warehouses for furs, English goods and other commodities; workshops for the different mechanics—carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, wheelwrights, tinners, etc.—In all of which there is the most diligent and unceasing activity and industry. There is also a school-house and chapel, and a powder magazine built of brick and stone.

In the center stands the governor's residence, which is two stories high, the dining hall, and the public sitting room. All the clerks and officers, including the chaplain and physician, dine together in the hall, the governor presiding. The dinner is of the most substantial kind, consisting of several courses. Wine is frequently allowed, but no spirituous liquors. After grace has been said the company break up; then most of the party retire to the public sitting room, called "Bachelor's Hall," or the smoking room, to amuse themselves as they please, either in smoking, reading, or telling and listening to stories of their own and others' curious adventures. Sometimes there is a great influx of company, consisting of the chief traders from the outposts, who arrive at the fort on business, and the commanders of vessels. These are gala times after dinner, and there is a great deal of amusement, but always kept under strict discipline and regulated by the strictest propriety. There is, on no occasion, cause for *ennui*, or a lack of anecdote or interesting narrative; or, indeed, of any intellectual amusement; for if smoking and story-telling be irksome, then there is the horse ready to mount, and the rifle prepared. The voyageur and the trapper, who have traversed thousands of miles through wild and unfrequented regions, and the mariner, who has circumnavigated the globe, may be found grouped together, smoking, joking, singing and story-telling, and in every way banishing dull care, till the period of their again setting out for their respective destinations arrives. The smoking room, or "Bachelor's Hall," presents the appearance of an armory and a museum. All sorts of weapons, and dresses, and

curiosities of civilized and savage life, and of the various implements for the prosecution of the trade, might be seen there. The mechanics, and other servants of the establishment, do not dine in the hall, or go to the smoking room.

The school is for the benefit of the half-breed children of the officers and servants of the company, and of many orphan children of Indians who have been in the company's employment. They are taught English (sometimes French), writing, arithmetic and geography; and are subsequently either apprenticed to traders in Canada, or kept in the company's service. The front square is the place where the Indians and trappers deposit their furs and other articles, and make their sales, etc. There may be seen, too, great numbers of men sorting and packing the various goods, and scores of Canadians beating and cleaning the furs from the dust and vermin, and coarse hairs, previous to exportation. Six hundred yards below the fort, and on the bank of the river, there is a neat village of about sixty well-built wooden houses, generally constructed like those within the fort, in which the mechanics and other servants of the company, who are, in general, Canadians and Scotchmen, reside with their families. They are built in rows, and present the appearance of small streets. They are kept in a neat and orderly manner. Here there is an hospital, in which the invalided servants of the company, and, indeed, others who may wish to avail themselves of it, are treated with the utmost care.

Many of the officers of the company marry half-breed women. They discharge the several duties of wife and mother with fidelity, cleverness and attention. They are, in general, good housewives; and are remarkably ingenious as needlewomen. Many of them, besides possessing a knowledge of English, speak French correctly, and possess other accomplishments; and they sometimes attend their husbands on their distant and tedious journeys and voyages. These half-breed women are of a superior class; being the daughters of chief traders and factors, and other persons, high in the company's service, by Indian women of a superior descent or of superior personal attractions. Though they generally dress after the English fashion, according as they see it used by the English wives of the superior officers, yet they retain one peculiarity—the leggin or gaiter, which is made (now that the tanned deer skin has been superseded) of the finest and most gaudy coloured cloth, beautifully ornamented with bands. The lower classes of the company's servants marry native women, from the tribes of the upper country, where the women are round-headed and beautiful. These, too, generally speaking, soon learn the art of useful housewifery with great adroitness and readiness; and they are encouraged and rewarded in every way by the company, in their efforts to acquire domestic economy and comfort. These, too, imitate, in costume the dress of the officer's wives, as much as they can; and from their necessities of position, which exposes them more to wet and drudgery, they retain the moccasins, in place of adopting the low-quartered shoe.

Attached to the fort there is a magnificent farm, consisting of about three thousand acres, of which fifteen hundred acres have already been brought to the highest state of tillage. It stretches behind the fort, and on both sides, along the banks of the river. It is fenced into beautiful corn fields, vegetable fields, orchards, garden and pasture fields, which are interspersed with dairy houses, shepherds' and herdsmen's cottages. It is placed under the most judicious management; and neither expense nor labour has been spared to bring it to the most perfect cultivation. There is a large grist mill, and a threshing mill, which are worked by horse-power, and a saw mill worked by water-power. All kinds of grains and vegetables, and many species of fruits, are produced there in abundance and of superior quality. The grain crops are produced without manure; and the wheat crop, especially, is represented by practical farmers to be wonderful.

Besides this farm, which they are every day extending, they have commenced

farming on a large scale on the Cowlitz, to the north, Umpqua, to the south, and in other parts of the territory, where they have established posts, the produce of all of which they use for exportation both to the Russia stations in Kamtschatka (as they entered into a contract with the Russians, in 1839, to supply their posts in those regions with provisions at fixed prices), and to the islands of the Southern Pacific, and to British and American whalers and to other merchant ships. They also keep scores of wood-cutters employed to fell timber, which is sawed up in large quantities, three thousand feet a day, and regularly shipped for the Sandwich Islands and other foreign ports. And as they can afford to sell the goods purchased in England under a contract of old standing, together with the productions of the territory and their own farms, fish, beef, mutton, pork, timber, etc., at nearly half the American price, they are likely to engross the whole trade of the Pacific, as they do already the trade of the Oregon, especially since they command all the ports and safe inlets of the country. This the Americans feel and declare; and it is this which whets their cupidity and excites their jealousy and hatred.

Trapping parties leaving Vancouver are some weeks preparing for the mountains and prairies. The blacksmiths are busily engaged making beaver-traps for the trappers, the store-keepers making up articles for trade and equipping the men, the clerk in charge of the provision store packing up provisions for them, to last until they get into hunting ground, the clerk in charge of the farm providing horses and other requisite articles. The party generally consists of about fifty or sixty men, most of them the company's servants, others free hunters. The servants have a stated salary, while the freemen receive so much per skin. Previous to leaving the fort for the arduous adventure, they are allowed a small quantity of rum per man; and they generally enjoy a grand holiday and feast the night previous to starting. Each man has a certain number of horses, sufficient to carry his equipment. The free trappers generally provide their own animals. Both the company's servants and the freemen frequently take their wives and families with them. The women are very useful on the expedition, in preparing meals and other necessaries for their husbands during their absence from the camp. In summer and winter, whether they have a sort of traveling camp or a fixed residence, they select the localities that most abound in fur-bearing animals. Though a party may be obliged, from a variety of circumstances, to winter in the plain, or in the recesses of the mountains, or on the borders of lakes and rivers, some numbers of it return to the fort in the fall, with the produce of the season's hunt, and report progress, and return to the camp with a reinforcement of necessary supplies. Thus the company are enabled to acquire a minute knowledge of the country and natives, and extend their power and authority over both."

CHAPTER XII.

DIPLOMACY AGAIN ENDS IN JOINT OCCUPATION.

Claim of the United States to the Columbia River—Spasmodic Consideration of the Oregon Question in Congress—The Russian Ukase—The Monroe Doctrine—Negotiations in 1824—Claims of the United States Advanced by Mr. Rush—The Opposing Claims of Great Britain—Reply of Mr. Rush and the English Commissioners to Each Other—England Rejects America's Offer of the Fifty-first Parallel, and Proposes the Forty-ninth and Columbia River—Rush Offers the Forty-ninth to the Ocean—Rejected and the Negotiations Terminate—Mr. Gallatin Sent to London in 1826—Offer of the Columbia again made by England and Rejected—The Doctrine of Contiguity—The Spanish Title as Modified by the Nootka Convention—Trading Posts Declared not to be Settlements by Mr. Gallatin, a Declaration which Becomes a Boomerang—The Period of Joint Occupation Indefinitely Extended.

DURING all these years the Oregon question was not neglected in Congress. It was spasmodically discussed, and much correspondence was had between the two governments on the subject; but though many things were proposed at various times, nothing was actually done to promote American interests in Oregon, unless the leave of absence granted Captain Bonneville be considered as an effort in that direction. During these diplomatic negotiations the United States firmly maintained her claim to all the rights, of any nature whatsoever, which Spain may have possessed prior to the Florida Treaty. She also urged that the mouth of the Columbia was hers by the dual right of discovery and settlement; and, therefore, following the general rule which had been observed by European nations in colonizing America, all the country tributary to that river, and its confluent, was also subject to her dominion.

As the Columbia sweeps northward to the fifty-first parallel, it was urged that, by this title alone, the government had indisputable right to the whole region lying between the forty-second and fifty-first degrees of latitude.

In 1820, a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives, to inquire into the condition of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River. This resulted in the reporting of a bill "for the occupation of the Columbia, and the regulation of the trade with the Indians in the territories of the United States": but, though much discussed, both then and the ensuing year, the measure was never passed. There were several plans advocated, among them being one to send a body of troops overland to occupy the disputed territory, and another to construct a chain of forts across the continent, which should form a basis of supplies and protection for emigrants. The great drawback was the lack of emigrants to be supplied and protected. The Mississippi Valley was still but sparsely settled, and no one thought of moving two thousand miles across what was supposed to be a region of nearly impassable mountains and almost interminable deserts, when the rich lands of Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa were inviting them to make their home in the domain of the "Father of Waters."

Russia stepped in as a disturbing element, by the publication, on the sixteenth of September, 1821, of an imperial ukase, by which exclusive title was asserted on the coast as far south as latitude 51°, and all foreign vessels were prohibited from approaching within one hundred miles of said coast, under penalty of confiscation. Protests were instantly entered by both Great Britain and the United States, Russia replying that her claim was based upon discovery, exploration and unquestioned occupation for a period of fifty years. Separate negotiations were opened with Russia by the two contending powers. It was at this juncture that the celebrated Monroe Doctrine was first enunciated in an official document. In his message to Congress, dated December 2, 1823, President Monroe declared that the "American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed, were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power." This elicited a formal protest from both England and Russia. Another docu-

ment, which was peculiarly offensive to England, was a paper submitted to the House, on the sixteenth of February, 1824, by General Jessup, in which it was proposed to establish a chain of forts from Council Bluffs to the Pacific, by which "present protection would be afforded to our traders; and at the expiration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, we should be enabled to remove them from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our citizens." This suggestion of a preparation to expel her subjects from Oregon by force of arms was exceedingly, and properly so, distasteful to Great Britain, and did much to complicate the negotiations which had been already entered into.

The ten years' limit of joint occupation had now more than half expired, and it became necessary to appoint commissioners to again endeavor to affect a settlement. Mr. Rush, the American commissioner, who had been an associate with Mr. Gallatin in arranging the treaty of 1818, asserted that by the Louisiana title the United States had undisputed claim as far north as the forty-ninth parallel, since that had been recognized by the Treaty of Utrecht as the boundary line between the possessions of France and England, and should properly be extended to the Pacific. He also claimed, under the Spanish title, as far north as the sixtieth parallel, the acknowledged limit of the Russian possessions, and he declared "the rights thus acquired from Spain were regarded by the Government of the United States as surpassing the rights of all other European powers on that coast." A third claim was the one outlined in a previous paragraph, based upon the discovery, exploration and occupation of the Columbia. Asserting these three distinct titles, he made the proposition that no future settlements be made by subjects of Great Britain south of the fifty-first degree, nor by citizens of the United States north of that parallel. Mr. Rush was, however, authorized to make a considerable modification of that proposal, since his letter of instructions contained the following words: "As, however, the line already runs in latitude 49° to the Stony Mountains, should it be earnestly insisted upon by Great Britain, we will consent to carry it in continuance on the same parallel to the sea."

The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain not only declined the

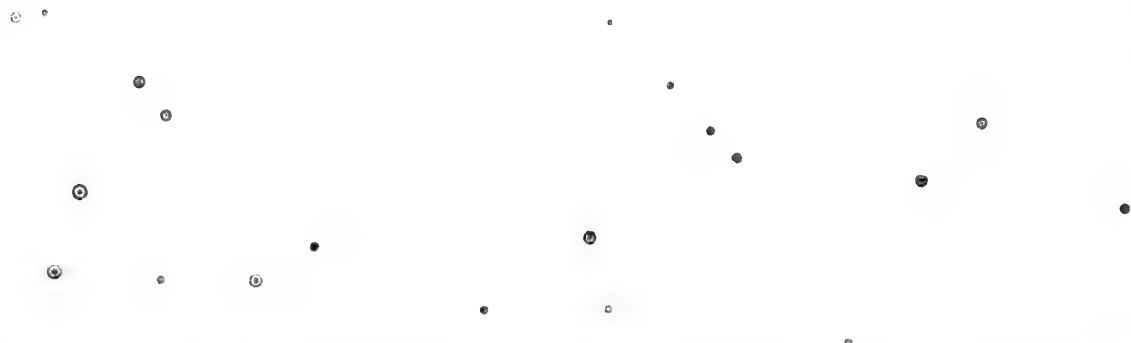
proposals, but denied in toto the principles upon which it had been offered, especially the idea that no future colonization in America should be attempted by European nations. They declared that all unoccupied portions of America were subjects of colonization, including the region on the Pacific Coast lying between the forty-second and fifty-first parallel. They declared that Great Britain could not concede to the United States, as the successor of Spain, those exclusive rights which she had successfully resisted when they had been advanced by Spain herself, and which the Nootka Convention, in 1790, declared should not be admitted. They also denied the title by right of discovery, claiming that the discovery of the Columbia was a progressive one, participated in more conspicuously by British subjects than by Americans; that even admitting the discovery by Gray, he, being a private citizen, could not, merely by entering the mouth of a river, gain title for his Government to the whole coast for hundreds of miles above and below that point, especially since the coast had been explored prior to that time by an official expedition (Captain Cook's) of Great Britain, and a British subject (Sir Francis Drake) had purchased land from the natives only a few degrees south; that the settlement at Astoria was subsequent, or, at the best, only coeval, to similar settlements made by British subjects upon that stream, or upon rivers flowing into it (erroneously referring, perhaps, to the establishment on Fraser Lake)

To this the United States ambassador replied at length, asserting that Gray sailed under the flag and protection of the Federal Government, whose rights followed him; that he was unaware, and could not admit the fact, of any prior or contemporaneous settlement by British subjects on the Columbia; that Cook had been preceded by Perez, Heceta and Quadra, in his exploration of the coast; and closed by saying that "in the opinion of my government, the title of the United States to the whole of that coast, from latitude forty-two degrees to as far north as latitude sixty degrees, was, therefore, superior to that of Great Britain, or any other power: first, through the proper claim of the United States by discovery and settlement, and secondly, as now standing in the place of Spain, and holding in their hands all her title." The British reply was a renewal of the former objections, especially to the Spanish title, special stress being

laid on the fact that England never had admitted the exclusive rights claimed by Spain on the Pacific Coast of America, and had specifically denied and combatted them in the Nootka controversy; the voyage of Sir Francis Drake was urged as giving England the discovery rights prior, even, to the earliest claimed by Spain, the forty-eighth degree being placed as the northern limit of his voyage. It was also denied that Spain could acquire title by simply sailing along the coast, and not following up her discoveries by genuine acts of possession and settlement. The response of Mr. Rush, was a denial that Drake proceeded beyond the forty-third parallel, and a reminder to the English plenipotentiaries that, even if all they claimed for Drake were true, England was debarred from claiming title through him by the rule laid down by them in the matter of Spanish explorers, since the title thus acquired had not been perfected by acts of possession and settlement.

By these successive statements and answers both sides to the question having been plainly set forth, the representatives of England, rejecting Mr. Rush's proposition, made another proposal—that the boundary line follow the forty-ninth parallel till it struck the Columbia, and then follow down the main channel of that stream to the ocean, navigation of the river to be open to both nations. This was submitted, they said, in a spirit of compromise, though they considered that in so doing they were departing largely from the full extent of Great Britain's rights. Mr. Rush declared his utter inability to accept such a proposition, but that, actuated by the same strong desire to effect a compromise, he would agree to the forty-ninth parallel clear through to the ocean, stating that this was the extreme limit of his authority. This was declined, and as neither party would make further concessions the negotiations came to an end.

In 1826, the attempt to settle this important question was renewed, and Mr. Gallatin was sent to London, with full powers to resume the discussion. The offer of the forty-ninth parallel and the Columbia River was again made by the British Commissioners, with a sop in the shape of a slice of Washington Territory south of Gray's Harbor and Hood's Canal thrown in. Mr. Gallatin renewed Mr. Rush's offer of the forty-ninth parallel, adding free navigation



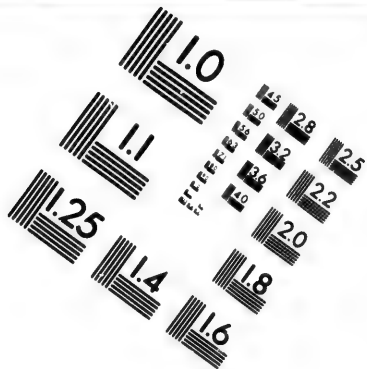
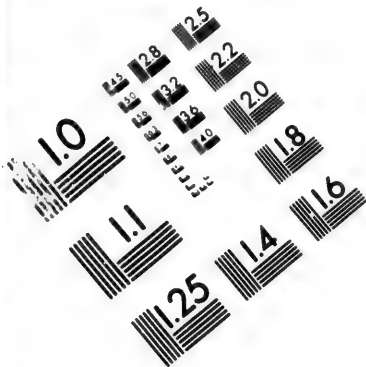
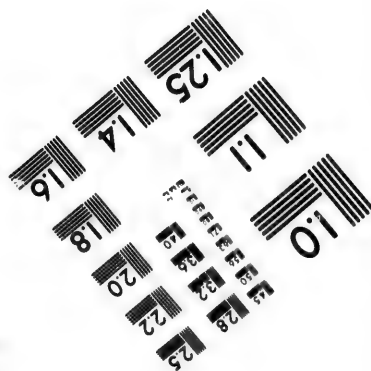
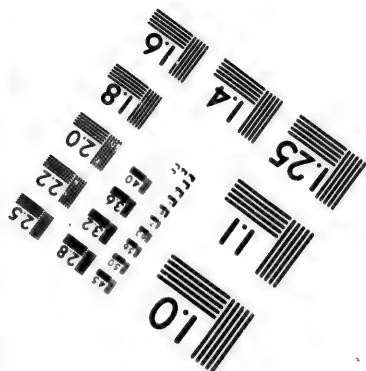
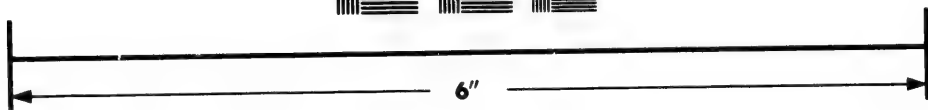
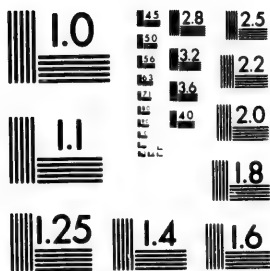
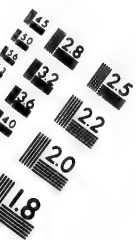


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to the sea from all branches of the Columbia lying north of that line. The complete claims and offered compromises of the two nations were submitted in written statements, and were published in full in the message of President Adams, of December 12, 1827. There was no essential difference in the claims made by the contending parties from those set forth above; they were simply urged in different language and with a better understanding of the subject. The Louisiana title was made a prominent feature by Mr. Gallatin; but the insufficiency of this was clearly shown by the representatives of Great Britain, who also claimed that the titles of the United States and Spain, when taken separately, were imperfect, and when taken together destroyed each other. Mr. Gallatin also advanced the doctrine of contiguity, asserting that the populous settlements in the valley of the Mississippi constituted a strong claim to the extension of their authority "over the contiguous vacant territory, and to the occupation and sovereignty of the country as far as the Pacific Ocean." This was asserted by the British Commissioners to be the doctrine of "might makes right," and to be wholly repulsive to the principles of international law.

It was maintained, and with much justness, by the English negotiators that, since the Nootka Convention especially declared the right of both England and Spain to either of them settle upon and take possession of any portion of the coast now in dispute which had not been previously settled upon by the other, the previous rights of both nations acquired by discovery were thus expressly waived, and future titles were made to depend entirely upon acts of possession and settlement; therefore, in succeeding to the Spanish title, the United States had acquired nothing but the right possessed by Spain to settle upon and occupy any portion of the coast not already in the actual possession of Great Britain.

Mr. Gallatin denied that mere fur trading factories, or posts, could be considered settlements such as were necessary to perfect title of a nation to an extended region; but by doing this he discredited the title claimed by his own Government by reason of the establishment by the Pacific Fur Company of a post at Astoria; also, by a simple process of reasoning, of the discovery title claimed through Captain Gray, since that gentleman was simply a fur trader, and was not engaged in a voyage of exploration or discovery.

Not being able to come to any understanding upon the main question at issue—a definite boundary line—the negotiations were brought to a close in 1827 by the signing of an agreement indefinitely extending the period of joint occupation, making it terminable by either party upon giving twelve months' notice to that effect. Thus was the aid of time again invoked to furnish a solution of this vexatious problem.

CHAPTER XIII.

FAILURE OF ALL ATTEMPTS AT JOINT OCCUPATION BY THE AMERICANS.

Outlook for Joint Occupation—Comparison of the Advantages of the English and American Traders—Character of the American Trappers—The Hudson's Bay Company's Methods and Servants—Growth of the American Fur Trade—The American Fur Company—The Missouri Fur Company—Ashley, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, Penetrates the Rocky Mountains—Method of Conducting Trapping Enterprises—The Annual Rendezvous—Jedediah S. Smith's First Overland Journey—His Second Journey Fraught with Disaster—His Adventures in California—His Party Massacred on the Umpqua—The Hudson's Bay Company Recover Smith's Furs and Pay him for Them—Gray's Version of this Affair—The Subject Discussed—Boston's and King George's Men—Dr. McLaughlin's Account of this Episode—McLeod's Unfortunate Expedition—Ogden's Expedition to the Humboldt and California—Death of Smith—Major Pilcher and Ewing Young—Hudson's Bay Company Establish Fort Umpqua and a Headquarters in California—Bonneville's Trading Ventures—Two Efforts of Nathaniel J. Wyeth to Trade in Oregon Result Disastrously—McLaughlin's Remarks on Wyeth—Abandonment of Oregon by American Trappers.

THE great power and firm foothold secured in Oregon by the Hudson's Bay Company has been thus minutely described in order that an adequate idea can be had of the herculean task which lay before any American company which might seek to compete with it in its chosen field. Joint occupation, as contemplated in the treaties of 1818 and 1826 was only possible, on the principle of the lion and the lamb. Americans could live in Oregon if they would permit themselves to be swallowed by the Hudson's Bay Company—not otherwise. The chief difficulty which lay in the

pathway of American traders in their efforts to compete with the great English corporation, was a lack of unity of purpose and combination of capital and effort. The Americans were all independent traders, operating alone or in limited partnerships. Separately they had not the capital to carry on the business in the systematic and comprehensive manner in which the Hudson's Bay Company operated. There was an utter lack of system, unity of action or wise provision for the future. The trade was not carefully fostered for future advantage, since none of them cared to build up a business for some one else to enjoy, but each sought to make all the immediate profit possible. The competition among them was ruinous to all, and in a few years the whole trade, so far as Americans were concerned, was ruined. In their competition with the English monopoly they were at a fatal disadvantage. One unsuccessful season with them was often financially disastrous, while to the great corporation, covering such a vast scope of country, dealing with so many tribes and handling such varied classes of furs, such a thing as a completely unsuccessful year was impossible. Gains in one section compensated for any losses in another. For this reason, whenever two trapping parties met in open competition for the trade of any tribe of Indians, the Americans were at a disastrous disadvantage, and, except in the few instances when they outwitted the rival trader, were forced to the wall. The agent had full authority to use his own discretion in such cases, his only instructions being to crush his rival at all hazards. No spectre of bankruptcy shook his bony finger in his face; no vision of an angry and distrustful partner rose up before him. He could give away every dollar's worth of goods he had, and receive the approval of his superiors, provided, that by doing so, he defeated the rival traders. On the contrary, the American, his entire fortune invested in this single venture, could neither afford to give away his goods nor to lose the opportunity to trade; for often it was the only one of the season, and to miss it meant ruin. In 1815, Congress, in order to aid the struggling traders, passed an act expelling foreign trappers from the territories of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains; but it remained a dead letter, since brigades of the English trappers continued to roam through the country along the Missouri and its tributaries.

Candor compels the confession that there were other reasons for the success of the English and utter failure of the American traders; and these were the great difference in their methods of treating the natives and the character of the men engaged in the business. The American trappers were, to a large extent, made up of a class of wild, reckless and brutal men, many of them fugitives from justice. With them might made right, and Indian fighting was one of their chief accomplishments. A perpetual state of hostilities existed between them and the Blackfeet and other warlike tribes. They cared nothing for the interests of their employers, were insubordinate and quarrelsome, and the histories of their lives and adventures, written for the glorification of the few of the most noted of them, convince us that, as a whole, they composed the lowest stratum of American society. Irving, in one of many similar passages, thus speaks of one phase of their character: "The arrival of the supplies gave the regular finish to the annual revel. A grand outbreak of wild debauch ensued among the mountaineers; drinking, dancing, swaggering, gambling, quarreling and fighting. Alcohol, which, from its portable qualities, containing the greatest quantity of fiery spirit in the smallest compass, is the only liquor carried across the mountains, is the inflammatory beverage at these carousals, and is dealt out to the trappers at four dollars a pint. When inflamed by this fiery beverage, they cut all kinds of mad pranks and gambols, and sometimes burn all their clothes in their drunken bravadoes. A camp, recovering from one of these riotous revels, presents a serio-comic spectacle; black eyes, broken heads, lack lustre visages." Alcohol was a leading article of merchandise, and the annual assemblage at the points of rendezvous and the meetings with Indians for the purposes of trade, were invariably the scenes of drunken debauchery like the one described. Many impositions were practiced on the Indians, and the men, being irresponsible and without restraint, were guilty of many acts of injustice. The Indians learned neither uprightness nor morality from contact with them, and had respect only for their bravery.

The reverse was the case with the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were men, chiefly half-breeds and descendants of the French settlers of Canada—the agents and factors being generally of Scotch nativity—who had been reared to the business, as

had been their fathers before them, and cheerfully submitted to the rigid discipline maintained by the company. It was the company's policy to avoid all trouble with the natives, to whom they gave no liquor whatever. It was by pandering to the Indian's proverbial thirst for "fire-water" that the Americans occasionally defeated their opponents in competition for the trade of a tribe; still, it sometimes happened that after the noble red man had been hilariously and even pugnaciously drunk for a week on American alcohol, they sobered up sufficiently to sell their furs to the English trader, who could offer them such a greater quantity of goods in exchange, and left their bibulous friends to mourn. By just and generous treatment the company sought to bind the Indians to them by a community of interest; yet an act of bad faith or treachery was never permitted to go unrebuked. By this means it obtained an influence among the tribes covering a region over a thousand miles square, which amounted almost to the authority of government; and this influence was sufficiently powerful to cause the Indians of some tribes to not only refuse to trade with Americans, but to decline selling them provisions when in the greatest distress. Bonneville found this to be the case when he undertook the experiment of joint occupation, and sought to do business in Oregon, the chosen field of the great monopoly.

The rise and growth of the Hadson's Bay and Northwest Companies have been traced till they united and spread like an octopus over the whole West. Let us also trace the growth of American fur enterprise until it began to enter Oregon in competition with the united rivals. In 1762 the Governor of Louisiana, then a Province of France, chartered a fur company under the title of "Pierre L  guste Lacl  de, Antoine Maxan & Co." The following year Lacl  de established Fort St. Louis, where now the great city of that name stands, and this became the headquarters of the fur trade as carried on by the French of Louisiana. At that time the Canadian representatives of France had their general headquarters at Mackinaw and Montreal; but Canada becoming a British Province the following year, subjects of Great Britain, chiefly Scotchmen, succeeded to the fur trade of that region. After the United States became a nation, American traders engaged in the fur trade along and west of the great lakes, Mackinaw becoming their general head-

quarters. These men were chiefly New York merchants, the leading spirit being John Jacob Astor, whose ill-fated attempt to found an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia has been related. The trade as then carried on ran in four great belts. To the north was the Hudson's Bay Company; next came the young and aggressive Northwest Company; south of them the independent American traders operated; and still further south was the field occupied by the French. How the two English companies became consolidated and spread out over the whole region north of the Missouri and gained complete possession of Oregon, has been fully set forth.

The next step was the substitution of Americans for Frenchmen at St. Louis, the natural result of the purchase of Louisiana by the United States. Immediately following this event St. Louis became the goal of thousands of young men who loved the excitement and adventures of a frontier life, and of as many more of all ages who preferred the obscurity of the frontier to the seclusion of a state's prison or the notoriety of a public execution. To say the least, the society of that frontier city was far from choice. It was not long before the Americans began to be in a majority in the various brigades of trappers which roamed the plains as far west as the base of the Rocky Mountains, while the direction of these enterprises fell almost entirely into their hands. The French trappers, however, never entirely disappeared, for their names are found frequently mentioned in all narratives concerning the trapping fraternity. They have generally been confounded with the voyageurs and trappers of French descent who formed the bulk of the ordinary servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; but this is an error, since the latter were the Canadian French, who had transferred their allegiance to the British conquerors and successors of their old employers, while the former were the descendants of the French of Louisiana, and, consequently, were Americans.

The act of Congress in 1815, expelling British subjects from the territories east of the Rocky Mountains, served to stimulate the American traders. The American Fur Company, at the head of which was Mr. Astor, then operating in the lake region from Mackinaw, began to send trapping parties further west, reaching the headwaters of the Mississippi and Missouri. Other American

traders opened an important trade between St. Louis and Santa Fé, the latter becoming headquarters for the fur business in the region of New Mexico, then a Province of Mexico. Up to this time the operations of American trappers had not extended beyond the base of the Rocky Mountains, except in the instance previously mentioned, that of the Missouri Fur Company. This was a company organized at St. Louis in 1808, stimulated by the reports of the Columbia region brought in by Lewis and Clarke, and was headed by Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard. Mr. Henry, a partner, established Fort Henry the same year, on Lewis, or Snake, River, just west of the summit of the mountains, and other posts were founded on the Upper Missouri. Two years later, however, these were abandoned, owing to a failure of supplies and the hostility of the natives. The next effort was made by General W. H. Ashley, who had long been the leading spirit in such enterprises at St. Louis, and was the senior partner of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. In 1823 he led a party of trappers up the Platte to the Sweetwater, followed up the latter stream to its source, discovered the famous South Pass (the one Fremont endeavored to appropriate to himself twenty years later), explored the headwaters of the Colorado, or Green, River, and returned to St. Louis in the fall. The next year he again entered the mountains and discovered Great Salt Lake and Lake Ashley. On the later he established Fort Ashley, and leaving one hundred men at that post, returned to St. Louis. From that time the Rocky Mountains were the favorite trapping grounds of the Americans. Their method of doing business was by no means systematic. Each company, when there were rivals, organized several brigades of trappers, sufficiently strong to protect themselves from hostile Indians, and sent them out in various directions, generally under the leadership of an interested partner. Once a year these parties assembled at a previously designated rendezvous, generally on Green River, where a settlement was made. There they met the partner who was the connecting link between them and civilization, such as it was, at St. Louis. He had come up with a train of supplies and packs of goods for the Indian trade, and turning these over to his partners, he loaded his train with the accumulated furs and conveyed them to market at St. Louis. Often furs were sent down the Missouri in a nondescript boat, made of buffalo skins—a

craft of eccentric unreliability. With the supplies was invariably a liberal quantity of alcohol. Whisky was too bulky to carry, and as the palates of the trappers and Indians were none too refined, sour mash and bourbon were omitted from the wine list. There was plenty of water at hand and the spirits could be easily diluted to any strength required, though there were not a few who scorned to spoil their drink by putting water in it. Frequently two or three rival bands of trappers assembled at the same rendezvous, and it was not unseldom that a thousand white men and two or three thousand Indians were in camp at one time. The appearance of the train from St. Louis was invariably followed by one of those wild debauches described above by Irving, the greatest excesses being committed by the free trappers, those who had been the longest in the business and had abandoned all thought of any other existence than the free and untrammelled life of the mountains. These men worked for themselves, receiving a stipulated price for all the furs taken by them. In return for a contract given by them to sell all their furs to the company, they were allowed almost unlimited credit, which they exercised as freely as it was offered. Their heaviest expenditures were for spirits, horse, gun, traps, clothing, and gaudy adornments of every kind for their Indian women, of whom each possessed at least one. It not infrequently happened that in a few days their reckless excesses and their heedless generosity to their fair ones not only exhausted their balance with the company, but ran up such an enormous bill of credit that their labor for a year was pledged in advance. When it is known that some of these men, when employed on a salary, received as high as two thousand dollars a year, the full extent of their extravagance will be better understood. That is a large sum to expend in two or three weeks for spirits and gewgaws.

In 1825 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company dispatched Jedediah S. Smith into the country west of Great Salt Lake, with a party of forty men. He discovered Humboldt River, which he named "Mary's River" in honor of his Indian wife, so the old trappers testify, and following down that stream crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains, arriving in the Sacramento Valley in July. This was undoubtedly the first overland journey to California, notwithstanding that Cronise speaks of American trappers appearing

there as early as 1820. He gives no authority for the statement, and there is no record of any other party having penetrated so far west; the context, also, shows that he confounded these supposititious early trappers with a portion of Smith's company which he left behind him when he returned. Smith had good success, and leaving the majority of his company to continue their operations, he returned to the general rendezvous on Green River. He crossed the mountains on his homeward journey in the vicinity of Mono Lake, discovering large deposits of placer gold in that region, specimens of which he took with him to exhibit to his employers on Green River. General Ashley, having made a fortune, was then ready to retire from active participation in the business. He therefore sold his interests in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to William Sublette, Jedediah S. Smith and David Jackson. Smith again started for California in the spring of 1826, to rejoin the party he had left there, of whose success he and his partners entertained high hopes. It was his purpose to make a thorough inspection of the gold placers, trap through the Sacramento Valley, and with his whole party return to Green River to participate in the annual meeting the following summer. In his journey he passed as far south as the Colorado River, and, at some point on that stream, his party was attacked by Indians, who killed all except Smith, Turner and Galbraith. Those three escaped to Mission San Gabriel, and, notwithstanding their forlorn and distressed condition, were arrested as filibusters by the panicky Mexicans and sent to San Diego. At that point there happened to be several American vessels, whose officers signed a certificate that Smith was simply a peaceful trader and possessed a passport from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the United States. The certificate bears date of December 20, 1826, and was potential to procure the release of the prisoners. He then proceeded to hunt for the men he had left the year before, and found them in camp on the American River, in the vicinity of Folsom, their residence there leading to the bestowal of that title upon the stream. It was his purpose to return by way of the Columbia River, but that season was one of unusual snows and floods, and he was unable for a long time to leave the valley. His movements are somewhat uncertain, but are partially revealed in the following letter, written by him to Father Duran. The

Mexicans were uneasy about the intentions of this party of armed Americans, and the worthy Father wrote him a letter asking for information. Smith replied:—

REVEREND FATHER.—I understand, through the medium of some of your Christian Indians, that you are anxious to know who we are, as some of the Indians have been at the mission and informed you that there were certain white people in the country. We are Americans on our journey to the River Columbia; we were in at the Mission San Gabriel in January last. I went to San Diego and saw the general, and got a passport from him to pass on to that place. I have made several efforts to cross the mountains, but the snows being so deep, I could not succeed in getting over. I returned to this place (it being the only point to kill meat), to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on; the Indians here also being friendly, I consider it the most safe point for me to remain, until such time as I can cross the mountains with my horses, having lost a great many in attempting to cross ten or fifteen days since. I am a long ways from home, and am anxious to get there as soon as the nature of the case will admit. Our situation is quite unpleasant, being destitute of clothing and most of the necessaries of life, wild meat being our principal subsistence. I am, Reverend Father, your strange but real friend and Christian brother.

J. S. SMITH.

May 19th, 1827.

Soon after this correspondence Smith started northward, crossing to the coast in the vicinity of Russian River. He continued along the coast to the Umpqua, and while ferrying his effects across the stream on a rudely constructed raft, his party was attacked by Indians, with whom they were holding friendly intercourse, and all but three were slain. Smith, Daniel Prior and one of the Indians were on the raft at the time of the attack, and when the signal yell was given the savage sprang into the water with Smith's gun in his hand; but he never lived to enjoy his prize, for Smith seized his companion's rifle and buried a bullet in the Indian's brain the instant his head appeared above water. The two men landed on the opposite side of the stream and succeeded in making their way to Vancouver, where they received a warm and sympathetic welcome. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company would have done their utmost to have ruined his business had he come into their field with a band of trappers; but one in his pitiable condition—his followers massacred and his furs and accoutrements plundered—could only excite their deepest sympathy. A few days later a third man made his appearance, more forlorn, if possible, than the others. This was Richard Laughlin, who was in camp at the time of the attack, and had seized a burning brand from the fire, with which he rained

scorching blows upon the naked bodies of his assailants until he cleared a passage for himself and escaped.

It was deemed necessary by the officers of the company to chastise the Indians who had been guilty of this unprovoked outrage, as a warning to other tribes who might feel encouraged to pounce down upon unwary bands of trappers; besides, the furs stolen were exceedingly valuable and ought to be recovered. It happened that Governor Simpson was at Fort Vancouver at the time Smith arrived in such a forlorn condition, and he sent out a party under Thomas McKay, to punish the Indians and recover the captured property, both as a necessary step to maintain the company's authority and as an act of courtesy to the despoiled trader. Accounts vary as to the degree of punishment inflicted, but at all events the furs were recovered and conveyed to Vancouver, and since he could not carry them, having no means, and since the company, from a business point of view, could not afford to provide him with facilities for carrying on opposition to it, he sold the whole lot to the company for \$40,000. They were, to be sure, worth more in St. Louis, but under the circumstances, this was a fair price for them on the Columbia. The most detailed account of this incident is given by Rev. Gustavus Hines, who received the facts from Dr. McLoughlin in person. Gray's History of Oregon, a rabid anti-Hudson's Bay Company volume, seriously questions the correctness of these statements. It says:—

The property was recovered from the Indians by giving them presents of blankets and powder, and such things as the Indians wished, as stated to us by a Frenchman, a servant of the company, who was one of McKay's party that went to get the furs. They found no bodies to bury, and had no fight with the Indians about the property, as stated by Mr. Smith, also. But, as the Hudson's Bay Company tells the story, through Mr. Hines, they *spread terror through the tribes*. * * * Mr. Hines says his Umpqua party *returned in triumph to Vancouver!* And well they might, for they had made the best season's hunt they ever made in getting those furs and the property of Smith, which paid them well for the expedition, as there was no market for Smith, except in London, through the hypocritical kindness of Mr. Simpson. By this time Mr. Smith had learned all he wished to of this company. He preferred giving them his furs at their own price to being under further obligations to them. Mr. Sublette, Mr. Smith's partner, did not speak as though he felt under much obligation to Mr. Simpson or the Hudson's Bay Company, which was not long after the transaction referred to. I do not know how the company regard these statements of Mr. Hines, yet I regard them as true so far as Mr. Hines is concerned, but utterly false as regards the company. * * * According to the testimony given in the case of the *Hudson's Bay Company v. United States*, the amount of furs seized by the company at that time was forty

packs, worth at the time \$1,000 each, besides the animals and equipments belonging to the party, a large portion of which was given to the Indians to compensate them for the services rendered the company in destroying Smith's expedition and killing his men."

It is a sufficient refutation of the above to state that the author is a monomaniac on the subject of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholics, resulting from the religious struggle between rival missionary establishments, with one of which he was connected. No sin is too black or crime too heinous for him to charge to the score of his old opponents. It is true that it was the company's policy to overbear all opposition; that all Indians over whom they exercised control were strictly enjoined from dealing with independent traders or selling them supplies; that their agents were instructed never to supply such parties with food or ammunition, unless the dictates of pure humanity required it, as in the case under consideration; but that it ever encouraged the thought among the natives that it would be pleased by the murder of Americans, is not susceptible of proof, and the idea is inconsistent with the character of the men who administered its affairs on the Pacific Coast, especially the kind and benevolent Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor at Vancouver. Smith's party was the first band of American trappers to invade the company's field in Oregon, and as their presence was unsuspected, since the company had not yet begun to operate in Southern Oregon and California, it is impossible that these Indians could have been encouraged to attack them. Generally speaking, the Indians of this region, save those at the mouth of the Columbia, did not at that time understand the difference in nationality of white men, though but a few years later the appearance of Americans along the Columbia taught them all the difference between "Bostons" and "King George's Men," a distinction which was carefully impressed upon them by the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company, and which, in their eyes, was a most important one, as subsequent events plainly indicate. To show that the company did not encourage a general spirit of hostility against Americans, though admitting, or, rather, not denying, that the tribes were urged to hold no communication whatever with American traders, Dunn relates the following incident, occurring, probably, subsequent to 1830:—

On one occasion an American vessel, Captain Thompson, was in the Columbia, trading for furs and salmon. The vessel had got aground in the upper part of the river, and the Indians, from various quarters, mustered with the intent of cutting the Americans off, thinking that they had an opportunity of revenge, and would thus escape the censure of the company. Dr. M'Loughlin, the governor of Fort Vancouver, hearing of their intention, immediately dispatched a party to their rendezvous, and informed them that if they injured one American, it would be just the same offense as if they had injured one of his servants, and they would be treated equally as enemies. This stunned them, and they relinquished their purpose and all retired to their respective homes. Had not this come to the governor's ears the Americans must have perished.

Such conduct is characteristic of the kind-hearted Chief Factor, and it is probable that he would have thus acted had he been implicitly enjoined to the contrary by his superior officers. One thing is certain—in after years he lost the favor of the Governor by not withholding from American settlers the aid their necessities required, though he well knew that by so doing he was violating the well-defined policy of the company of discouraging American immigration. Just when the title "Bostons" was first bestowed upon Americans, to distinguish them from the English, or "King George's Men," is a matter of uncertainty; but it was probably done in 1832, when a Boston merchant, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, entered Oregon to engage in the fur trade, as will appear subsequently. In after years all white people became known as "Bostons," with the exception of the soldiers and the priests, and this classification exists at the present day.

Dr. McLoughlin died on the third of September, 1857, at the age of seventy-three, and a stone marks his last resting place in the Catholic churchyard at Oregon City. Among his papers was found a quite lengthy manuscript, in his own handwriting, detailing at length his acts in connection with many events, and showing how his efforts to be just, kind and generous to the settlers had not only failed to win him the good will of many of them, or justice from the Government, but had lost him the friendship of his former fellow-officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. It details quite minutely the incident which is now under consideration, and it will be observed that the Doctor's version differs somewhat from that of Hines or Gray in several particulars, especially in regard to the quantity and value of the furs recovered. This posthumous paper has been published in full in the "Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Asso-

ciation," and will be frequently quoted from in the succeeding pages. That portion referring to the Umpqua massacre is as follows:—

One night in August, 1828, I was surprised by the Indians making a great noise at the gate of the fort, saying they had brought an American. The gate was opened, the man came in, but was so affected he could not speak. After sitting down some minutes to recover himself, he told he was, he thought, the only survivor of eighteen (18) men, conducted by the late Jedediah Smith. All the rest, he thought, were murdered. The party left San Francisco bound to their rendezvous at the Salt Lake. They ascended the Sacramento Valley, but finding no opening to cross the mountains to go east, they bent their course to the coast, which they reached at the mouth of Rogue River, then came along the beach to the Umpqua, where the Indians stole their ax, and as it was the only ax they had, and which they absolutely required to make rafts to cross rivers, they took the chief prisoner and their ax was returned. Early the following morning, Smith started in a canoe with two (2) men and an Indian, and left orders, as usual, to allow no Indians to come into camp. But to gratify their passion for women, the men neglected to follow the order, allowed the Indians to come into camp, and at an Indian yell five or six Indians fell upon each white man. At the time, the narrator, Black, was out of the crowd, and had just finished cleaning and loading his rifle; three (3) Indians jumped on him, but he shook them off, and seeing all his comrades struggling on the ground and the Indians stabbing them, he fired on the crowd and rushed to the woods pursued by the Indians, but fortunately escaped; swam across the Umpqua and [went] northward in the hopes of reaching the Columbia, where he knew we were. But broken down by hunger and misery, as he had no food but a few wild berries which he found on the beach, he determined to give himself up to the Killimour, a tribe on the coast at Cape Lookout, who treated him with great humanity, relieved his wants and brought him to the Fort, for which, in case whites might again fall in their power, and to induce them to act kindly to them, I rewarded them most liberally. But thinking Smith and his two men might have escaped, we made no search for them at break of day the next morning. I sent Indian runners with tobacco to the Willamette chiefs, to tell them to send their people in search of Smith and his two men, and if they found them to bring them to the fort and I would pay them; and also told them if any Indians hurt these men we would punish them, and immediately equipped a strong party of forty (40) well armed men. But as the men were embarking, to our great joy, Smith and his two men arrived.

I then arranged as strong a party as I could make to recover all we could of Smith's property. I divulged my plan to none, but gave written instructions to the officer, to be opened only when he got to the Umpqua, because if known before they got there, the officers would talk of it among themselves, the men would hear it and from them it would go to their Indian wives, who were spies on us, and my plan would be defeated. The plan was that the officer was, as usual, to invite the Indians to bring their furs to trade, just as if nothing had happened. Count the furs, but as the American trappers mark all their skins, keep these all separate, give them to Mr. Smith and not pay the Indians for them, telling them that they belonged to him; that they got them by murdering Smith's people.

They denied having murdered Smith's people, but admitted they bought them of the murderers. The officers told them they must look to the murderers for the payment, which they did; and as the murderers would not restore the property they had received, a war was kindled among them, and the murderers were punished more severely than we could have done, and which Mr. Smith himself admitted, and to be much preferable to going to war on them, as we could not dis-

tinguish the innocent from the guilty, who, if they chose, might fly to the mountains, where we could not find them. In this way we recovered property for Mr. Smith to the amount of three thousand two hundred dollars, without any expense to him, and which was done from a principle of Christian duty, and as a lesson to the Indians to show them they could not wrong the whites with impunity.

Smith's report of the excellence of the region to the south as a trapping ground aroused the company to the importance of reaping the benefit of the American trader's enterprise. Accordingly, two expeditions were sent out in different directions to trap over the field Smith had explored. It has been said that the service of guides to these new beaver streams was part of the price paid by him for the recovery of his furs and traps; but a positive statement on that point is impossible. One party, consisting of forty men, completely equipped for a year's absence, started southward, led by Alexander Roderick McLeod, and guided by Turner. Among them were some of the men who had come out to Astoria with the Pacific Fur Company, and had remained here in the employ of the Northwest Company and its successor. These were Etinne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, both well known to the early pioneers, Alexander McCarty, William Canning and Thos. McKay, whose father perished in the *Tonquin*. On their journey southward they bestowed several of the familiar names of Southern Oregon, such as "Jump-off-Joe," "Rogue River," and "Siskiyou Mountain." The first was so named because of an adventure which happened to Joe McLoughlin, son of the Chief Factor. The second was called "La Rivier de Caqueain," because the Indians stole some of their traps and horses, and gave them much trouble. The last received its title because an old white, bobtailed horse, belonging to Jean Baptiste Pairroult, was stolen while they were camped on the mountain, "Siskiyou" meaning "bobtail" in the patois French of the Canadian trappers. McLeod's party met with considerable success; but they were snowed in, early in the winter, on the banks of a tributary of the Sacramento, lost their horses, and were unable to get out of the mountains with the large packs of furs and traps. In this emergency, McKay, McLoughlin and Pairroult started on foot for Vancouver, to procure horses, and after much hardship and stamering reached headquarters. McLeod, however, unable to procure food for his men, did not wait for the expected relief, but *cached* his furs and traps, and also made his toilsome way to Vancouver. The *cache* was made near the eastern

base of Mount Shasta, which they called "Mt. McLoughlin." When the relief party arrived at the deserted camp, the following spring, it was found that the snow and rains had caused the river to flood its banks, and the furs had become wet and spoiled. The stream was ever afterwards known among the trappers as "McLeod River," the name it still bears in pronunciation, though the orthography has been changed to "McCloud." The reason for this is, that in sound the two names are very similar, and that Ross McCloud, a very worthy and well-known gentleman, resided on the stream in an early day, though not for a quarter of a century after it received its baptism of "McLeod." Care should be taken by all map makers, historians, and writers generally, to adhere to the original orthography.

The other party referred to was led by Peter Skeen Ogden, and was accompanied by Smith. They passed up the Columbia and Lewis, or Snake, rivers, to the source of the latter, where Smith left them and proceeded to the general rendezvous of his company on Green River. Ogden continued southward until he reached the Humboldt. That stream of many titles was known among the American trappers as "Mary's River," and among the Hudson's Bay people as "Ogden's River," its present name having been bestowed upon it by Fremont, who had sought through that region in vain for the fabulous "Buena Ventura." Ogden passed down the stream to the "Sink," and then crossed the Sierra Nevada to Sacramento Valley through Walker's Pass. He trapped along the Sacramento, and continued northward until he reached Vancouver, sometime in the summer of 1829, with a valuable lot of furs. When Smith appeared at the Green River rendezvous with the tale of his manifold fortunes, he was as one risen from the dead, as his partners, having received no tidings of him for two years, supposed him to have perished. In 1830 he disposed of his interest in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and the following year was treacherously killed by Indians, while digging for water in the dry bed of the Cimeron River, near Taos, New Mexico, and was buried there by his companions.

The second party of American trappers to enter Oregon was that of Major Pilcher. They left Green River in 1828, and passed along the western base of the Rocky Mountains to Flathead Lake, where they wintered. In the spring they descended Clarke's Fork and the

main Columbia to Colville River, up which they ascended to its source and started on their return eastward. Gray says: "This party of Major Pilcher's were all cut off but two men, besides himself; his furs, as stated by himself to the writer, found their way into the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company." The writer, though not stating it positively, intends to convey the impression that these men were murdered at the instigation of the Hudson's Bay Company, or, at least, with its sanction. That the captured furs were sold to the company is true, but as that was the only market open to the Indians, it is a very small foundation upon which to lay a charge of murder against the purchasers. The next band of American trappers was that of Ewing Young, who had been for years a leader of trapping parties from Santa Fé to the headwaters of the Del Norte, Rio Grande and Colorado rivers. He entered California through Walker's Pass, in 1829, and returned the next year. In 1832 he again entered California and followed Smith's route into Oregon as far as the Umpqua, when he turned eastward, crossed the mountains to the tributary streams of the Columbia and Snake rivers, entered Sacramento Valley again from the north, and finally crossed out by the Tejon Pass, having been absent from Santa Fé two years. Mr. Young soon returned, and became one of the first and most energetic of the American settlers in Oregon, his death a few years later leading to the organization of the Provisional Government. While in the Sacramento Valley, in 1832, Young encountered a brigade of Hudson's Bay trappers, led by Michael Laframbois. The company had made this one of their fields of operation, and had the year before established Fort Umpqua, at the confluence of Elk Creek and Umpqua River, as a base of supplies for Southern Oregon and California. In 1833 an agency was established at Yerba Buena (San Francisco), and trapping headquarters in Yolo and San Joaquin counties, both places becoming known to the early American settlers as "French Camp." J. Alexander Forbes, the first English historian of California, and W. G. Ray, represented the company at Yerba Buena until it withdrew from California in 1845.

William Sublette and David Jackson retired from the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1830, at the same time as Smith, the new proprietors being Milton Sublette, James Bridger, Robert Campbell,

Thomas Fitzpatrick, Frapp and Jarvis. In 1831 the old American Fur Company, which had been managed so long by Mr. Astor but was now directed by Ramsey Crooks, one of Mr. Astor's partners in the Astoria venture, began to push into the trapping grounds of the other company. Great rivalry sprang up between them, which was the following year intensified by the appearance of two other competitors in the persons of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville and Nathaniel J. Wyeth. Captain Bonneville was a United States army officer, who had been given permission to lead a party of trappers into the fur regions of the Northwest, the expedition being countenanced by the Government only to the extent of this permit. It was supposed, that, by such an undertaking, sufficient additional information of the region explored would be obtained to warrant authorizing an officer to engage in a private venture. The Captain first reached the Rocky Mountains in 1832. In 1833 he sent Joseph Walker with forty men to California over the route formerly pursued by Smith, and on Christmas of the same year started with three companions from his camp on Portneuf River, upon an expedition to Fort Walla Walla. His object, as given by Irving, was: "To make himself acquainted with the country, and the Indian tribes; it being one part of his scheme to establish a trading post somewhere on the lower part of the river, so as to participate in the trade lost to the United States by the capture of Astoria." He reached Powder River on the twelfth of January, 1834, whence his journey was continued down Snake River and by the Nez Perce trail to Fort Walla Walla, where he arrived March 4, 1834.

This journey, in mid-winter, was attended with its accompanying detail of hardships incident to the season, including the absence of game and presence of snow in the mountains. At one time they had wandered among the Blue Mountains, lost amid its canyons and defiles east of the Grand Ronde Valley, for twenty days, nearly frozen and constantly starved until they were at the verge of despair. At length a Nez Perce chief was met who invited them to his lodge some twelve miles further along the trail they were traveling, and then galloped away. So great had been the strain upon the Captain's system in sustaining these successive days of unnatural exertion, that when the chief disappeared he sank upon the ground and lay there like one dead. His companions tried in

vain to arouse him. It was a useless effort, and they were forced to camp by the trail until he awoke from his trance the next day and was enabled to move on. They had hardly resumed their tedious journey when some dozen Nez Perces rode up with fresh horses and carried them in triumph to their village. Everywhere after this they were kindly received by this hospitable people—fed, cared for and guided on their way by them.

Bonneville and his two companions were kindly received at Fort Walla Walla by Mr. P. C. Pambrun, who, with five or six men, was in charge of that station at the mouth of the Walla Walla River. This Hudson's Bay Company's representative was a courteous, affable host, but when asked to sell the Captain supplies that would enable his return to the Rocky Mountains, said: "That worthy superintendent, who had extended all the genial rights of hospitality, now suddenly assumed a withered-up aspect and demeanor, and observed that, however he might feel disposed to serve him personally, he felt bound by his duty to the Hudson's Bay Company to do nothing which should facilitate or encourage the visits of other traders among the Indians in that part of the country." Bonneville remained at the fort but two days longer, for his destitute condition, combined with the lateness in the season, rendered it necessary for him to return immediately; and he started on the back trail with his Nez Perce guide, and finally reached the point of general rendezvous for his various expeditions. This is a true statement of the position assumed by the Hudson's Bay Company; its agents would not themselves, nor would they permit the Indians under their control to deal with or in any manner assist opposition traders; but that Bonneville traversed the country in safety with but three companions, after the company was aware of his intention to return and found a rival establishment on the Columbia, is convincing evidence that assassination was not one of its methods of overcoming competition, however much such charges may be reiterated by its enemies.

In July, 1834, Bonneville started on a second expedition to the Columbia, with a formidable number of trappers and mountain men, well equipped, and with an extensive stock of goods to traffic with Indians. He still contemplated a restoration of American trade in this country, and designed establishing a post for that purpose in

the Willamette Valley. This time he passed the Blue Mountains by way of Grand Ronde Valley and the Umatilla River, and upon his arrival at the mouth of that stream, was surprised to find the natives shunning him. They ran from his men, hid themselves, and when intercepted, refused to have anything to do with the Americans. Not a skin, a horse, a dog, or a fish, could be obtained from them, having been warned by the Hudson's Bay Company not to traffic with these new comers. It now seemed a question of immediate evacuation or starvation, and Bonneville decided to abandon his attempt at joint occupancy. Once more he turned his back upon the Columbia and left the English company in undisputed possession of the field.

A contemporaneous effort was made by Nathaniel J. Wyeth, a Boston merchant. With eleven men who knew nothing of trapper-life, he crossed the plains to Humboldt River, with Milton Sublette, in 1832. From this point the twelve pushed north to Snake River, and by way of that stream to Fort Vancouver, where they arrived on the twenty-ninth of October. Mr. Wyeth had his whole fortune invested in his enterprise, and had brought with him a large stock of goods, such as were used in the Indian trade. He was received with great hospitality by Dr. McLoughlin. The next spring he left for the East, a financial bankrupt, only two of his followers accompanying him. It does not appear that the company's officers contributed in any way to produce this result; but if they did not, it was simply because it was unnecessary to do so. Had not natural causes, the chief of which were the wrecking of his supply ship which had been sent around Cape Horn, and his utter ignorance of the business of fur trading, led to his failure, the company would undoubtedly have protected its interests as it did upon his next venture two years later. Arriving in Boston, Mr. Wyeth organized "The Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company," with a view of continuing operations on the Pacific Coast under the same general plan that had been outlined by Astor, adding, however, salmon fishing to the fur trade. He dispatched the brig *Mary Dacres* for the mouth of the Columbia, loaded with supplies and implements needed in his proposed undertaking. She had on board also supplies for the Methodist Mission, to be spoken of hereafter. With sixty experienced men, Mr. Wyeth himself started overland in 1834. Near

the headwaters of Snake River he built Fort Hall, as an interior trading post, the name being that of one of his partners. Here he left twelve men and a stock of goods. He then pushed forward to the Columbia and erected a fort on Sauvie's Island, at the mouth of the Willamette River, which he called "Fort Williams," in honor of another partner; and again the American flag waved over soil west of the Rocky Mountains. The officers of the company again received him with much hospitality, and though they continued to treat him with courtesy, this did not prevent them from taking the steps necessary to protect the company's interests. Fort Boisé was established as an opposition to Fort Hall, and drew the bulk of the trade of the Indians of Snake River. On the Columbia, Wyeth found that the natives were so completely under the control of the company that he could establish no business relations with them whatever. In two years he was compelled to sell all his possessions, including Fort Hall, to the rival company, and abandon this second effort at joint occupation. To this result the American Fur Company and Rocky Mountain Fur Company largely contributed by conduct towards Mr. Wyeth that was neither generous nor honorable, and it was finally, with a sense of gratification, that he sold Fort Hall to the British Company, and thus gave them an important post in the very heart of the trapping grounds of his unpatriotic and unscrupulous countrymen.

Dr. McLoughlin's account of Mr. Wyeth's venture, as given in the document previously spoken of, is as follows:—

In 1832, Mr. Nathaniel Wyeth, of Cambridge, near Boston, came across land with a party of men, but as the vessel he expected to meet here with supplies was wrecked on the way, he returned to the East with three (3) men. The remainder joined the Willamette settlement and got supplies and were assisted by the Hudson's Bay Company's servants, and to be paid the same price for their wheat—that is, three shillings sterling per bushel, and purchase their supplies at fifty per cent. on prime cost.

In 1834, Mr. Wyeth returned with a fresh party, and met the vessel with supplies here, and started with a large outfit for Fort Hall, which he had built on his way, and in 1836, he abandoned the business and returned to the States, and those of his men that remained in the country joined the settlements and were assisted as the others on the same terms as the Hudson's Bay Company's servants, and in justice to Mr. Wyeth, I have great pleasure to be able to state that as a rival in trade, I always found him open, manly, frank and fair, and in short, in all his contracts, a perfect gentleman and an honest man, doing all he could to support morality and encouraging industry in the settlement.

In 1835 the two rival American companies were consolidated as "The American Fur Company," Bridger, Fontenelle and Dripps being the leaders. The retirement of Bonneville, and the sale of Fort Hall by Mr. Wyeth, left only the consolidated company and a few "lone traders" to compete with the English corporation. For a few years longer the struggle was maintained, but gradually the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the trade until the American trappers, so far as organized effort was concerned, abandoned the field.

CHAPTER XIV.

FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS.

Missionaries Introduce a New Element into the Oregon Question—The Flatheads send Messengers to St. Louis to Procure a Bible—Jason Lee and others sent by the Methodist Board of Missions—They Locate in the Willamette Valley—Their Plan of Operations—Sickness at the Mission and Hostility of the Indians—Parker and Whitman sent by the American Board—Parker's Triumphant March—He Returns Home and Publishes a Book—Mr. and Mrs. Whitman—Whitman Takes a Cart as Far as Fort Boise—Missions Founded at Waiilatpu and Lapwai—Progress of the Missions of the American Board—Mission Founded at The Dalles—Advent of the Catholics—A Religious War at Once Begins—A Few Sample Incidents—Effects of the Two Forms of Worship upon the Natives.

THE opening wedge for American settlement and occupation of Oregon, which was the new and decisive factor time introduced into the Oregon Question, was the Protestant Missionaries. In despair of coming to an amicable agreement, the plenipotentiaries of England and the United States, in 1827, had continued indefinitely the treaty of joint occupation, hoping that something would turn up to put a new phase upon the question; and in less than ten years their expectations were fully realized, but in a manner little dreamed of by the most astute of them all. Military posts were thought of, emigrants were thought of, fur traders were thought of; but no one seemed to have thought of the earnest and self-abnegating missionary—that is no one but the aborigines, whose rights and preferences had not been considered by either party to this long controversy.

From Lewis and Clarke the Indians of the Columbia first learned of the white man's God. They were told that the Great Spirit wor-

shipped by their visitors had made of them a powerful nation, given them books, guns, clothing, and a thousand things the red man did not possess. Other white men who came later whetted their already keen desire to learn about this powerful God, and possess that wonderful book which he had given to these strange people. One tribe was presented by some irreverent trappers with a well-thumbed pack of cards, with the assurance that they were the bible for which they longed; but the deception was a brief one. Finally, in 1832, four (some authorities say five) Flathead Indians were delegated by their tribe to proceed to St. Louis, which they believed to be the great center of the white man's power, and procure this all-powerful book and some one to teach them its contents. It was a strange quest, and a stranger place in which to make it, for St. Louis then overflowed with that turbulent and ungodly class that in those early times swarmed along the western border of civilization. The messengers were laughed at by the few to whom they applied; and after two of their number had died in the city, the others set out sorrowfully on their return, without having procured the great book, and with their faith in its efficacy for good sadly shaken by the scenes they had witnessed. One of them died on the way, yet their journey was not wholly fruitless; for their lamentations were overheard one day by one who immediately wrote to the missionary societies in the East that there was a wide and ripe field for their labors in Oregon. The matter was taken in hand by two organizations, the Methodist Board of Missions, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a society supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed denominations.

The Methodists were the first to take the field. Rev. Jason Lee was given direction of the work. Mr. Lee was born in Canada, of American parents, and was ordained to the ministry in the United States; yet his American citizenship has been questioned by sectarian writers, who imagine that by doing so they gain for themselves certain pioneer honors that are justly his due. His associates were Rev. Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard and P. L. Edwards. When Nathaniel Wyeth made his second journey to the Columbia, in 1834, as already related, this missionary party accompanied him. When Wyeth stopped to build Fort Hall the missionaries left him and

continued their journey with a brigade of Hudson's Bay Company trappers, under A. R. McLeod and Thomas McKay. On the first of September they reached Fort Walla Walla, a post the Hudson's Bay Company had established on the Columbia at the mouth of Walla Walla River, where the town of Wallula now stands. On the fifteenth they landed from boats at the company's headquarters at Vancouver. They were most cordially welcomed by Dr. McLoughlin, who entertained them with the greatest hospitality. It had been their intention to locate east of the mountains, but the Chief Factor persuaded them to found their establishment in the Willamette Valley. It has been charged that his reasons for desiring them to choose the latter place were that he might secure the services of one of them as teacher to children at the fort. If such was the case his motive was far from being an unworthy one; and he did the Indians no wrong, since those on one side of the mountains were as much in need of missionary labors as those on the opposite. It was a fortunate thing for the United States that he did so, for the mission became the center about which American settlers rallied a few years later, and it became an important factor in wresting Oregon from the grasp of Great Britain. On this subject McLoughlin's document says:—

In 1834, Messrs. Jason and Daniel Lee, and Messrs. Walker and P. L. Edwards came with Mr. Wyeth to establish a mission in the Flathead country. I observed to them that it was too dangerous for them to establish a mission; that to do good to the Indians, they must establish themselves where they could collect them around them; teach them to cultivate the ground and live more comfortably than they do by hunting, and as they do this, teach them religion; that the Willamette afforded them a fine field, and that they ought to go there, and they would get the same assistance as the settlers. They followed my advice and went to the Willamette, and it is but justice to these pioneers to say that no men, in my opinion, could exert themselves more zealously than they did till 1840, when they received a large reinforcement of forty (40) or more persons; then the new-comers began to neglect their duties, discord sprang up among them and the mission broke up.

The location chosen was on the banks of the Willamette, some sixty miles above its mouth and ten below the site of the present city of Salem. They began the erection of a log house, 32x18 feet, and so eager were they to begin their labors that they took possession of it on the third of November in an uncompleted condition, and received Indian pupils before the roof was finished. Their relations with the people at Vancouver were the most friendly and

cordial. Twenty-one persons were baptized at the fort by Jason Lee on the fourteenth of December, seventeen of them children; and he received a donation of twenty dollars to aid in his missionary work. They were viewed by the officers of the company solely in their character as missionaries, their nationality and creed not being considered; and as such they received hospitable treatment and hearty encouragement in a work which was deemed beneficial. They proposed not only to teach religion to the Indians, but to teach them to till the soil and to do other useful and productive labor, by means of which their moral, mental and physical condition might be elevated. Realizing that the plastic mind of youth is the easiest moulded, they opened a school for children, and furnished them a house, where they could learn to read, worship God and till the soil. To do this required food for their support; and it became necessary for them to embark in farming in order to produce it. This they began the following spring, and their first harvest consisted of two hundred and fifty bushels of potatoes and a quantity of wheat, barley, oats and peas. To this they added six barrels of salmon, procured from the Indians. In September, one year after their arrival, the first of a series of misfortunes overtook them. An intermittent fever became prevalent, and four of the children died. The Indians had been watching their movements with considerable interest, and these sad occurrences had a powerful effect upon their superstitious natures, causing them to view with distrust the place where the Great Spirit was displaying his disapproval by causing the death of their children. One Indian, who had lost a little brother, paid the mission a visit with the avowed intention of killing Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard, but was dissuaded from doing so by a companion. He gave vent to his wrath against the "white medicines" by crossing the river and killing several of his own race, presumably his wife's relations. During the fall an addition, 16x32 feet, was built to the mission house, and the close of the year found them comfortably housed, with a sufficient supply of provisions and only ten pupils under their charge, while the Indians generally entertained serious doubts of the advantage of having them there at all.

The American Board dispatched Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman in the spring of 1835, as a pioneer committee to

examine the field and select suitable locations for missionary work. They joined a party of the American Fur Company, and accompanied them to the grand rendezvous on Green River, where they encountered a band of Nez Perce Indians who had come across the mountains to trade with the trappers, with whom the tribe was on terms of warmest friendship. Among the Nez Perces was a young chief who was a most ardent friend of the Americans. He possessed great eloquence in debate, and was named "Lawyer" by the whites, because of his forensic efforts. With this chief the missionaries had a consultation, and resolved to establish at least two missions. Accordingly it was agreed that Dr. Parker would continue the journey across the continent for the purpose of exploration, so that suitable locations might be selected; he was then to leave a letter of advice with the Nez Perces to be given to Whitman the next year, and return home by sea. This was decided upon because the peculiar characteristics of the two men were such as to prevent cordial co-operation. Dr. Whitman was the very soul of energy and devotion to duty, caring nothing for appearances or the opinion of others if they stood between him and the object to which he had devoted his life; while Dr. Parker seems to have been a self-important man to whom a little notoriety was extremely soothing. Dr. Whitman, accompanied by two young Nez Perces, returned to the East to procure the necessary assistance for the two missions to be founded.

Dr. Parker resumed his journey westward on the twenty-second of August, and when he entered the Nez Perce country received such an ovation from the delighted Indians as must have gratified his vanity in the highest degree. No white man before or since was ever received by the natives of the Columbia with such cordiality and ceremonious distinction as greeted Mr. Parker on his way to Fort Walla Walla. His approach to an Indian village was the occasion of general display of savage grandeur and hospitality. Here was one who had come to tell them of that unseen and mysterious power which had done so many wonderful things for the white man; and they hoped now to learn how to worship that Great Spirit of whom they had heard their first white visitors speak, and who, they hoped, might smile upon them and make them wise and powerful. With this thought they received the missionary every-

where with outstretched arms and demonstrations of unbounded joy. He held religious services in several places, and to a degree inducted his eager neophytes into the mysteries of the white man's religion. He reached Fort Walla Walla on the fifth of October, receiving a cordial welcome from P. C. Pambrun, the gentleman in charge. A few days later he passed down the Columbia in a boat, and during the winter enjoyed the hospitalities of Dr. McLoughlin at Vancouver. In the spring he returned east of the mountains and made a journey through the Nez Perce, Spokane and Colville countries, after which he embarked from Vancouver for the Sandwich Islands, and thence for home, arriving in 1837. He soon after published an account of his travels, which was of special value at that time because of the deep interest the people were beginning to take in the Oregon Question.

Dr. Whitman, with his two Indian companions, reached Rushville, N. Y., his home, late on Saturday night, and his presence there, instead of in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, was first known when he walked quietly into church the next morning with his copper-hued friends, his mother starting up with a cry of astonishment and joy. During the winter all his arrangements were made, including his marriage in February, 1836, with Miss Narcissa Prentiss, daughter of Stephen H. Prentiss. Mrs. Whitman was a woman of refined nature, rare accomplishments of voice and manner, of commanding presence, firm in purpose and an enthusiast in the line of her accepted duty. In this cause her deepest sympathies had been enlisted, and she cheerfully yielded all her fair prospects among friends and kindred, and devoted her life to isolation in a country so far away that the very name conveyed to the mind a sense of loneliness and mystery, and where a martyr's grave was awaiting her. She was born at Pittsburg, N. Y., March 14, 1808, and was therefore but thirty-nine years of age when merciless and ingrate hands crowned with her death the sacrifice of her life. Marcus Whitman, M. D., was born September 4, 1802, at Rushville, N. Y., and at the age of forty-five offered up his life on the altar of duty. These two, accompanied by Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, a lady of much firmness of character and devotion to duty, and W. H. Gray, set out on their westward journey under the escort of a party of the American Fur Company. With

the party were Major Pilcher, an independent trader previously alluded to, and Sir William Drummond, an English nobleman traveling under the *alias* of "Captain Stewart" and accompanied by a companion and three servants. The missionary party took with them three wagons, eight mules, twelve horses and sixteen cows, besides farming utensils, blacksmith and carpenter tools, seeds, clothing, etc., to enable them to become self-supporting. At Fort Laramie all the wagons but one were abandoned, but Whitman insisted upon taking this one for the ladies to ride in; the trappers also concluded to try the experiment of wheels in the mountains, and safely took a small cart to the grand rendezvous on Green River. Here the missionaries met Nathaniel J. Wyeth on his return home from his second unfortunate effort to test the virtues of joint occupation in Oregon, and they were by him introduced to McKay and McLeod, the two Hudson's Bay Company agents who had escorted Jason Lee two years before, and who were about to return to Vancouver from a trapping and trading tour. Notwithstanding the urgent objection of the trappers and their assurances that it was impossible for a wagon to pass through the mountains, Whitman insisted upon taking the vehicle along; but when he reached Fort Hall he was compelled to reduce it to two wheels, and at Fort Boise they insisted upon an entire abandonment of it. Nevertheless, he had demonstrated that wagons could cross the Rocky Mountains, and was satisfied that the remainder of the route presented no more formidable obstacles. They were met on the route by a band of Nez Percés who had been informed in the spring by Dr. Parker of their expected coming, and their reception was only less impressive than had been that of their herald, whose failure to do anything for them had served somewhat to cool the ardor which his appearance had raised to fever heat. Mr. Pambrun gave them a hearty welcome to Fort Walla Walla on the second of September, which was repeated by Dr. McLoughlin a few days later when they landed from the company's boats at Fort Vancouver.

Leaving the ladies to enjoy the hospitalities of the fort, the three gentlemen returned to Walla Walla, and, with the aid of Mr. Pambrun, sought for suitable locations for their proposed missions. It was decided to locate one among the Cayuses and the other among the Nez Percés. The former was located at Wailatpu, on the

Walla Walla River, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, and was taken charge of by Mr. and Mrs. Whitman. This was known as the "Wailatpu," or "Whitman, Mission," the former name signifying "the people," being the proper title of the Cayuse tribe. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding founded the "Lapwai Mission" among the Nez Perces, at a place on the Clearwater River a few miles from the site of Lewiston, Idaho. Mr. Gray rendered material aid in constructing the two posts, and assisted the two principals in their missionary labors.

The next year, it being deemed advisable to extend the field of their operations, Mr. Gray returned East, to procure the necessary means and additional aid to accomplish that purpose. He was accompanied by four Nez Perces, who took a large band of horses with them, the price of which they intended to contribute to the Mission fund. On the Platte River the party was attacked by Sioux Indians, their horses stolen and the four Nez Perces killed, Mr. Gray barely escaping with his life. He returned in 1838, with Rev. E. Walker and wife, Rev. Cushing Eells and wife, Rev. A. B. Smith, Mrs. Gray, and Cornelius Rogers. With the party came Captain John A. Sutter, the honored pioneer of the Sacramento Valley. They brought with them fourteen cows of a superior breed, but at Fort Hall were persuaded to leave them and accept in their place an order for a similar number to be delivered them by the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company when they reached their destination. They failed to fully appreciate the beauties of this transaction until after their arrival at the Whitman Mission in September, and witnessed the efforts of an expert *vagüero* to catch some of the wild heifers roaming with the herds belonging to the company.

The following brief and accurate account of the Missions of the American Board is taken from Rev. Myron Eells' book, entitled "Indian Missions," and carries them up to the time when the American settlers organized a government in Oregon, from which time they will only be considered in connection with concurrent events. Mr. Eells says:—

On the arrival of this mission reinforcement, Mr. Gray was associated with Mr. Spalding. Mr. Smith was first stationed with Dr. Whitman, but the next year he opened a new station at Kamiah, sixty miles from Lapwai, among the Nez Perces, and Messrs. Walker and Eells likewise began another station among the Spokanes, at Tahimakain, six miles north of the Spokane River, in the spring of 1839. The

first few years of the mission were quite encouraging. Owing partly to the novelty, the Indians seemed very anxious to labor, to learn at school, and to receive religious instruction. In 1837, as soon as a school was opened at Lapwai, Mr. Spalding wrote that a hundred, both old and young, were in attendance. As soon as one had learned something more than the others, they would gather around him, while he would become their teacher. In 1839 one hundred and fifty children, and as many more adults, were in school. Similar interest was shown in religious instruction. They sometimes spent whole nights in repeating over and over what they had but partly learned at a religious service. Two years later 1,000 to 2,000 gathered for religious instruction. Then 2,000 made a public confession of sin, and promised to serve God. Many of them evidently did so with imperfect ideas of what they were doing, yet not a few were believed to give evidence of conversion. Among the Cayuses, also, more were ready to attend school than the mission family could supply with books, or had ability to teach. Morning and evening worship was maintained in all the principal lodges, and a confession of sin was made somewhat similar to that among the Nez Perces. For a time, when Dr. Whitman or Mr. Spalding traveled through the country, they were followed by hundreds of Indians, eager to see them and hear Bible truths at night. They had a strong desire for hoes and other agricultural implements, and were willing to part with any property they had, in order to obtain them, even bringing their rifles to be manufactured into such articles. From eighty to one hundred families planted fields near Mr. Spalding, and many near Dr. Whitman raised enough provisions for a comfortable supply for their families.

In 1838 Mr. Spalding reported that his field produced 2,000 bushels of potatoes, besides wheat and other articles. In the year 1841 a saw and grist mill were erected among the Nez Perces, and a grist mill among the Cayuses. At Kamiah a large part of the Indians gave up their roving habits for a time, and remained most of the year at home, and the Spokanes received Messrs. Walker and Eells with gladness. In 1837 a church was organized, and in September, 1838, the first Indian was received into it; though, in July previous, two Indian girls, who afterwards died in Mr. Spalding's family, gave evidence of conversion, and were baptized as the first fruits of the work. In November, 1839, Joseph and Timothy, Nez Perces Indians, were admitted to the church. In 1840 Mr. Eells reported a school of eighty scholars. In 1839 the mission received a donation from Rev. H. Bingham's church, at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, of a small printing press, with types, furniture, paper, and other things, of the value of \$450. The same church had, the year before, sent eighty dollars in money and ten bushels of salt to the Oregon mission. Mr. E. O. Hall, a printer at the Sandwich Islands, on account of the health of his wife, came with the press, and the first book printed west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as known, was issued that fall in the Nez Perces language. This added new interest to the school, and other books in the same language, and one in that of the Spokanes, followed. Mr. and Mrs. Hall remained until the spring of 1840, when they returned to the Sandwich Islands.

* * * * *

But the novelty gradually wore off, and discouragements began. The natural heart naturally resisted the truths of the Bible, and some of the Spokane chiefs led in the opposition. In 1838 two Roman Catholic priests arrived, spoke against the missionaries, and persuaded some of the Cayuses to be baptized by them. Others afterwards came, established a mission among them, and one of the Roman Catholic Indians instigated some others of the tribe to treat Dr. Whitman and Mr. Gray with much insolence and abuse, to destroy some property, and to demand payment for the land, timber, fuel and water which had been used. But by moderation and firmness, and with the aid of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Indians afterwards

admitted their guilt, and peace was apparently restored. In 1841, Mr. Smith, after suffering no little annoyance from the savage manners of the Nez Perces, on account of the failure of his own and his wife's health [he had located among Ellis' band of Nez Perces in 1839, and the following year was prevented from cultivating any ground under pain of death, at the command of Ellis himself], left that mission and Oregon, and joined the mission at the Sandwich Islands. He subsequently returned to the Eastern States. In his opinion the Indians were pharisaical, and desired to make money out of the missionaries.

By February, 1842, affairs seemed so discouraging that the Board of Missions concluded to give up the stations among the Cayuses and Nez Perces, and Rev. J. D. Paris and Mr. W. H. Rice, who had been sent to the mission by the way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, having reached the latter place, were induced to remain there temporarily, an arrangement which was afterwards made permanent by the Board at Boston. The roving habits of the Indians, and the decrease in the attendance on the schools, increased the trials. Hence, Messrs. Spalding and Gray were to return East, and Dr. Whitman was to join the Spokane Mission. In the fall of 1842, however, affairs took a more favorable turn: the Spokane Indians showed more thoughtfulness and conscientiousness; the school at Lapwai increased to an average of eighty, and afterwards to over 200; 1,000 Nez Perces attended a series of meetings for nine or ten days, seven of whom were examined for admission to the church; the Cayuse Sabbath congregations varied in the spring from 200 to 400, in the fall from 50 to 200, and less during the rest of the year. The two Nez Perces received into the church four years previous, and some others of whom hope was entertained, stood well as Christian workers; and there was abundant evidence that the truth was exerting a restraining influence over most of the Indians. Some of them were becoming more settled, so that 50 Cayuse and 150 Nez Perces families cultivated from a quarter of an acre to five acres each; one Nez Perces chief raised 176 bushels of peas, 100 of corn, and 300 of potatoes. Mrs. Spalding had taught a few of the Nez Perces women to knit, card, spin, and weave, and a large number to sew.

It was also becoming evident that more Americans were soon to come into the territory, and they would need something other than Roman Catholic preaching. All these things determined the missionaries in the fall of 1842, to continue all the stations, notwithstanding the instructions received from the Board at Boston, until the matter could again be reconsidered. These, and other considerations relating to the possession of the country, to which reference will afterwards be made, rendered it expedient, in the opinion of the mission, for Dr. Whitman to return East. He did so, leaving Walla Walla October 3d, 1842, and reaching Boston March 30th, 1843. He made such representations that the Board ratified the action of the mission, in continuing all the stations. After transacting important business at Washington, and visiting his friends, he returned to Oregon. He left the western frontiers of Missouri, May 31st, and after a short time overtook a company of about 500 emigrants, some of whom, when he was in the East, he had promised to aid, should they determine to go to Oregon. This journey was successfully made, and the first train of emigrant wagons rolled through to the Columbia River.

The Methodist mission, founded by Jason Lee in the Willamette Valley, and which had met with such misfortune by sickness, was reinforced by Elijah White and wife, Alanson Beers and wife, W. H. Willson, Annie M. Pitman, Susan Downing and Elvira Johnson,

who sailed from Boston in July, 1836, and reached their destination the following May. The scourge of fever still afflicted the mission, and it consequently bore ill repute among the Indians of the Willamette, in spite of the most earnest and conscientious efforts of Mr. Lee and his associates to win the good will of those for whose benefit they had made so great a sacrifice. In the fall of 1837 Rev. David Leslie, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins and Margaret Smith were added to their force of missionary laborers. Their field of operations was enlarged in the spring of 1838 by the establishment of a mission at The Dalles, under the charge of Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins. To do this required money, if they would continue their plan of operations. The Protestant method of working embraced the instruction of the Indian in the methods of procuring food and clothing by his own intelligent effort, so that he might not experience those alternate seasons of feasting and famine to which he was subjected when relying solely upon the products of nature. They sought, also, to destroy his roving habits by transforming him from a hunter to a farmer. Jason Lee accordingly started East to procure the necessary financial aid, accompanied by P. L. Edwards, F. Y. Ewing and two Indian boys. During his absence Mrs. Lee died, also Cyrus Shepard, who was teaching school at the Willamette Mission. Mr. Lee returned in 1840 with a party of forty-eight persons, eight of them being clergymen, and nineteen ladies. From this time the history of the missions becomes so closely interwoven with that of the settlements, that no further effort will be made to keep it distinct.

A new element was introduced into the mission field in 1838, in the form of two zealous Catholic priests. Rev. Francis N. Blanchet and Rev. Modest Demers came overland from Montreal with the regular express of the Hudson's Bay Company, reaching Vancouver on the twenty-fourth of November, 1838, and having baptized fifty-three persons while voyaging down the Columbia. They came prepared to stay, and not without having received a cordial invitation. The servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, such, at least, as were of Canadian descent, had a natural leaning toward the Catholic church, which had been the one to administer to the religious wants of themselves and parents, whenever they had been fortunate enough to come within the radius of Christian worship. When the Protestant mis-

sionaries appeared it caused them to long for the presence of the pious fathers; not with that insatiable longing which has its source in the deepest fountains of our nature; they simply preferred, in case they were to enjoy religious privileges at all, to have those with which they most naturally sympathized. Not only did they feel thus themselves, but they told the Indians that there were other and better missionaries than those who had settled amongst them, men who wore long black gowns and who would teach them the true religion. This created a natural desire among the tribes to have these holy men come among them, a desire shared by the officers of the company, who naturally preferred that religion which would meet with the most favor among their servants and the Indians, and which was taught by subjects of Great Britain. This was the reason why the society of Montreal sent out Fathers Blanchet and Demers, and why the advent of the "Black Gowns," as they were called by the Indians to distinguish them from the Protestants, was not unexpected by the natives.

The coming of Catholics was the signal for the commencement of a contest for spiritual control of the Indians, whose terrible results will be seen as this narrative progresses. For this both parties to the controversy were to blame. They were all firmly set in their religious convictions, and intolerant of opposing or differing opinions to the highest degree. Embued by the loftiest of motives themselves, they did not possess sufficient charity or liberality to ascribe equally exalted purposes to their opponents. This spirit is exhibited to the present day in the rancorous writings of certain participants on either side, in which they do not hesitate to charge upon their adversaries crimes for which the scaffold and penitentiary are the only adequate penalty; or motives and conduct, which, being proven, would cause them to be shunned and despised by every honorable man. It is but a continuation of that sectarian rivalry, that battle of religious creeds, which has existed since first primitive man began to worship his shadow as a manifestation of some intangible and mysterious power, and which has caused so much bloodshed, misery and horror in the world, and will not end until man judges his fellow man more by his motives and deeds, and less by his purely religious opinions.

A few instances will suffice to show the existence of this spirit

on both sides—a determination to impress upon the Indians the fact that their particular creed and form of worship were the only true and potent ones, and that all others were both false and harmful. The Catholics were the chief aggressors in this respect, the more energetic and crafty in undermining their opponents, but it was not entirely lacking with the other side; and it must be admitted that in the matter of subsequent acrimonious writings, the Protestants lead the van. The first gun was fired and the nature of the campaign outlined by Dr. Parker when he first entered the country, and long before the Catholics appeared in the field. At the mouth of the Alpowa Creek, on Snake River, he came upon a burial party of the Nez Percés, who “had prepared a cross to set up at the grave,” and because the symbol of the crucifixion offended his sight, and he feared it would make, as he expresses it, “a stepping-stone to idolatry,” he took “the cross the Indians had prepared and broke it in pieces.” As the Catholics had not yet appeared in the field, they consequently “didn’t know they were hit”; and this incident is of interest only to show the spirit of religious intolerance which held possession of Dr. Parker, and which subsequent events proved to also pervade his successors. When the Catholics appeared they found the Protestants well entrenched, and they had either to attack them there or enter new fields. They did both. Their plan of operations is outlined by Father Blanchet, who, in after years, wrote thus of the duties of the missionary priests:—

They were to warn their flocks against the dangers of seduction, to destroy the false impression already received, to enlighten and confirm the faith of the wavering and deceived consciences, to bring back to the practice of religion and virtue all of them who had forsaken them for long years, or who, raised in infidelity, had never known nor practiced any of them. * * * In a word, they were to run after the sheep when they were in danger. Hence their passing so often from one post to another—for neither the white people nor the Indians claimed their assistance in vain. And it was enough for them to hear that some false prophet (meaning a Protestant missionary) had penetrated into a place, or intended visiting some locality, to induce the missionaries to go there immediately, to defend the faith and prevent error from propagating itself.

Here is a direct statement from the Archbishop at the head of the church, that it was the Catholic plan to counteract the influence of the Protestants where they had already located missions, as well as to hasten to any new point they might select in order to prevent the founding of others. The first overt act of this kind was com-

mitted at Nesqually, only a few months after their arrival. Rev. Blanchet says:—

The first mission to Nesqually was made by Father Demers, who celebrated the first mass in the fort on April 22, [1839], the day after he arrived. His visit at such a time was forced upon him by the establishment of a Methodist mission for the Indians. * * * After having given orders to build a chapel, and said mass outside of the fort, he parted with them, blessing the Lord for the success of his mission among the whites and Indians, and reached Cowlitz on Monday, the thirtieth, with the conviction that his mission at Nesqually had left a very feeble chance for a Methodist mission there.

The priests introduced a novelty in the shape of a picture by some ingenious artist. It was a representation of a large tree, with many branches, and the different Protestant sects were shown as ascending the trunk and going out upon the various branches, from which they dropped into a fire, the blaze being fed by a priest with the heretical books of his roasting victims. This tickled the Indians immensely, and among the Nez Perces it seemed about to capture the whole tribe. As an offset to this, Mr. Spalding had his wife paint a number of illustrations of prominent Bible events, and this colored panorama soon crowded the Catholic cartoon from the field. Thus was the contest waged for several years. In 1841, the Cascades Indians were won away from the The Dalles Mission in spite of Mr. Waller's strenuous efforts to hold them. This same Mr. Waller gave expression to his feelings on doctrinal points by cutting down a cross erected by the Catholics at Clackamas village.

There was one thing which gave the Catholics a decided advantage among the natives—the use of symbols and ceremonies. Mr. Blanchet says: “The sight of the altar, vestments, sacred vessels, and great ceremonies, were drawing their attention a great deal more than the cold, unavailable and long lay services of Brother Waller.” These were more akin to their own ideas of religion than the simple services of the Protestants. The mystery was fascinating to them, and they preferred to see the priests “make medicine” to hearing so much “*wa-wa*” from the ministers. By thus working upon the superstitious nature of the savages, and making no effort to suddenly change their old habits and time-honored customs, the Catholics gained a firm hold upon them, and were thus able, gradually, to bring about the desired change. The Protestants, on the contrary, endeavored to accomplish too much at once, and having no censors

to swing, or imposing vestments to wear, could gain but slight influence over the natives when their opponents were about. There was also another distinction the Indians recognized, and one which gradually led them to entertain a spirit of bitterness and hostility against the Protestants. This was their affiliation with the American settlers, whose presence was highly distasteful to the Indians, the reasons for which will be developed as the narrative progresses.

CHAPTER XV.

AMERICAN EMIGRANTS ORGANIZE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Early Advocates of Oregon Emigration—Efforts of Hall J. Kelley—The American Society for the Settlement of Oregon Territory—It Memorializes Congress and Advertises for Emigrants—Wyeth, Kelley and Ewing Young come to Oregon—Earliest American Settlers—McLoughlin's Account of Settlement of French Prairie—The Willamette Cattle Company—Population of Oregon in 1840—First Effort at a Government—Settlement at Willamette Falls—Radical Change in the Policy of the Hudson's Bay Company as Regards Settlers—The Company's Deep Laid Plan—Attitude of the Company and its Chief Representative—Dr. McLoughlin Considered—Reasons for the Bitter Feelings Entertained by some Americans—Dr. McLoughlin's Statement of His Conduct and the Treatment Received from both English and Americans—A bad Showing for the Gratitude of some Americans—Classification of the Population as Regards Interests—Reasons for Desiring a Government—A Petition Sent to Congress in 1840—First Meeting to Form a Government—Death of Ewing Young Leads to the Organization of a Government—The Officers Elected—Failure to Form a Constitution—The Wilkes Expedition—The Wolf Meeting—The First Legislative Committee—Organization of the Provisional Government—The First Officers—Condition of the Missions—Antagonism of the Indians to American Settlers—Dr. White Induces the Nez Percés, Wascopums and Cayuses to Adopt a Code of Laws.

TO the missionaries belongs the credit of opening the route to Oregon and encouraging that large emigration of hardy pioneers of the Mississippi Valley which was the element to finally decide the Oregon Question in favor of the United States. This was not their object when they left their Eastern homes, but was simply the natural sequence of events. Emigration to Oregon was

considered and advocated long before there was any thought of founding missions, but it was deemed impracticable, and remained to be so considered until the missionaries and their wives demonstrated that the intervening mountains and deserts presented no barrier which might not be overcome even by delicate ladies. It then became but a matter of time, not a question of possibility, when emigrants should beat a well-worn trail to Oregon.

The first recorded instance of an effort to induce emigration to seek the far distant coast of Oregon, was in 1817, when Hall J. Kelley, of Boston, advocated the immediate occupation of the country in dispute by American settlers. At that time the United States was making her first genuine effort to regain possession of the Columbia, and was negotiating with Great Britain on the question of the restoration of Fort George, or Astoria. Mr. Kelley became an enthusiast upon the subject, and continued his exertions throughout the subsequent years of diplomatic negotiation. In 1829 he organized a company which was incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts as "The American Society for the settlement of the Oregon Territory." This society presented a memorial to Congress in 1831, setting forth that they were "engaged in the work of opening to a civilized and virtuous population that part of Western America called Oregon." Among other statements, the memorialists said: "They are convinced that if the country should be settled under the auspices of the United States of America, from such of her worthy sons who have drunk the spirit of those civil and religious institutions which constitute the living fountain and the very perennial source of her national prosperity, great benefits must result to mankind. They believe that there the skillful and persevering hand of industry might be employed with unparalleled advantage; that there science and the arts, the invaluable privilege of a free and liberal government, and the refinement and ordinances of Christianity, diffusing each its blessing, would harmoniously unite in ameliorating the moral condition of the Indians, in promoting the comfort and happiness of the settlers, and in augmenting the wealth and power of the Republic." They further stated "that the country in question is the most valuable of all the unoccupied portions of the earth," and they believed Providence designed it "to be the residence of a people whose singular advantages will give them un-

exampléd power and prosperity." They continued: "That these things * * * have settled in the policy of the British nation the determined purpose of possessing and enjoying the country as their own, and have induced their Parliament to confer on the Hudson's Bay Company chartered privileges for occupying with their settlements the fertile banks of the Columbia. * * *

Already have they flourishing towns, strong fortifications and cultivated fields. * * *

Their largest town is Vancouver, which is situated on a beautiful plain, in the region of tide water, on the northern bank of the Columbia. * * *

Everything, either in the organization of the government, or in the busy and various operations of the settlements of this place, at Walla Walla, at Fort Colville and at DeFuca, indicate the intention of the English to colonize the country. Now, therefore, your memorialists, in behalf of a large number of the citizens of the United States, would respectfully ask Congress to aid them in carrying into operation the great purposes of their institution; to grant them troops, artillery, military arms and munitions of war for the security of the contemplated settlement; to incorporate their society with the power to extinguish the Indian title to such tracts and extent of territory, at the mouth of the Columbia and the junction of the Multnomah with the Columbia, as may be adequate to the laudable objects and pursuits of the settlers; and with such other powers, rights and immunities as may be at least equal and concurrent to those given by Parliament to the Hudson's Bay Company; and such as are not repugnant to the stipulations of the convention, made between Great Britain and the United States, wherein it was agreed that any country on the Northwest coast of America, to be westward of the Rocky Mountains, should be free and open to the citizens and subjects of the two powers, for a term of years; and to grant them such other rights and privileges as may contribute to the means of establishing a respectable and prosperous community."

Congress did not see fit to encourage this scheme of colonization; and it may well be said that, had Congress been relied upon, Oregon would inevitably have become a dependency of Great Britain. That body of concentrated national wisdom lagged several years in the rear of the line of progress, and it was only by constant effort that through it the people were enabled to have their victories

finally recognized and ratified. This halting and dilatory conduct of the national legislature placed the acquisition of Oregon in constant jeopardy. The society, however, which had constituted Mr. Kelley its general agent, continued its efforts despite the supineness of Congress. In 1831 a pamphlet was published entitled—"A general circular to all persons of good character who wish to emigrate to Oregon Territory." The region covered by that designation is defined in the head lines and opening paragraph, which read: "OREGON SETTLEMENT.—*To be commenced in the spring of 1832 on the delightful and fertile banks of the Columbia River.* It has been for many years in serious contemplation to settle with a free and enlightened but redundant population from the American Republic that portion of her territory, called Oregon, bounding on the Pacific Ocean and lying between the forty-second and forty-ninth parallels of N. latitude." It was well known by every intelligent man that the United States claimed as far north as the Russian boundary at fifty-four-forty, but that forty-nine had been offered as a compromise line; and it is probable that the society thus defined Oregon within the limits generally believed at that time it would eventually assume. The cry, "fifty-four-forty-or-fight," had not then been heard, nor had the people as yet been aroused to such a pitch of interest in this subject. That was reserved for the time when negotiations were again resumed, prior to the settlement of the question in 1846. The pamphlet gave the names of thirty-seven agents of the society, to whom persons desiring to emigrate should make application for proper certificates and full information; and these agents were located at various points throughout the Union. One of these was Nathaniel J. Wyeth, whose unfortunate fur and salmon ventures on the Columbia have been related. It was arranged for the expedition to start from St. Louis in March, 1832, with a train of wagons and a good supply of stock. A town was to be laid out at the junction of the Columbia and Multnomah, and each emigrant was to receive a town lot and a farm, also, a lot in a town at the mouth of the Columbia, these places being already platted on paper. The failure of Congress to take any action in the matter ended the colonization scheme for that year. Mr. Wyeth, it will be remembered, crossed the country with a small party of Boston men, and returned the next

year. He again visited the Columbia in 1834, accompanied by Jason Lee's party of missionaries. Mr. Kelley had undertaken to send a ship loaded with supplies to the Columbia, but unsuccessfully. He then endeavored to open a route of trade through Mexico; but in that country the revenue officers pounced upon his goods and confiscated the greater portion of them. He still persevered, and falling in with Ewing Young, the independent trader whose operations on the coast have been related, persuaded him and several others to accompany him to Oregon. They reached Vancouver October 15, 1834. Mr. Kelley's health failed him, and he departed for home the following March, having lost \$30,000 in his efforts to colonize Oregon.

Mr. Young, and others who had come with Mr. Kelley, or with Wyeth's party, remained after the departure of those gentlemen—among them were James A. O'Neil, T. J. Hubbard, Courtney M. Walker and Solomon Smith. There were also two men of French descent—Joseph Gervais and Etienne Lucier—who had come out with Wilson G. Hunt's party, and whose sympathies were American. All told, aside from the missionaries, there were about twenty-five men in Oregon who were favorable to the United States, most of them being mountaineers with Indian wives. Four of the independent settlers were John Turner, George Gay, John Woodworth and Dr. Bailey, the survivors of a party of nine, which left California in the summer of 1835 for Oregon. The others were Daniel Miller, — Saunders, an Irishman called "Big Tom," a man whose name is unknown, and a squaw. Turner was one of the survivors of the Umpqua massacre of 1828. The incidents attending their arrival are thus related by Hon. J. W. Nesmith, who had them from the lips of the survivors:—

The party had forty-seven head of good horses and a complete outfit for trapping. About the middle of June, 1835, the party encamped for the night near a place known as "The Point of Rocks," on the south bank of Rogue River. Early the next morning the Indians commenced dropping into camp, a few at a time. Gay was on guard, and not liking the appearance of the Indians, awoke Turner, who was the leader of the party, and the latter conversed with the savages through his squaw, who spoke Chinook. Turner concluded that there was no harm to be apprehended from their dusky visitors, and, forgetting the fearful massacre which he so narrowly escaped with Smith's party seven years before, near the Umpqua, the party became careless. In the meantime, some four or five hundred Indians had assembled in and about the camp of the little party, and at a signal, furiously attacked the white men with clubs, bows and arrows and knives. The

attack was so sudden and unexpected that the Indians obtained three of the eight guns with which Turner and his party were armed. The struggle of the trappers for life was desperate and against fearful odds. The eight men seized whatever they could lay their hands on for defense. Some of them discharged their rifles in the bosom of their assailants and then clubbed their guns and laid about them with the barrels. Turner, who was a herculean Kentucky giant, not being able to reach his rifle, seized a big fir limb from the camp fire and laid about him lustily, knocking his assailants right and left. At one time the savages had Gay down and were pounding him, but they were crowded so thick as to impede the force of their blows. Old Turner, seeing Gay's peril, made a few vigorous blows with his limb which released him, and the latter, springing to his feet, dealt fearful cuts, thrusts, slashes and stabs with his long, sharp sheath-knife upon the naked carcasses of the dusky crowd. The other men, following Turner's and Gay's example fought with the energy of despair and drove the Indians from their camp. Dan Miller and another trapper were killed upon the spot, while the six survivors of the *melee* were all more or less seriously wounded. While the fight was going on, the squaws drove off a herd of horses and carried off all of the baggage and camp-equipage, together with three rifles. Three of the remaining guns were rendered useless by having their stocks broken off in the clubbing process. The six badly wounded survivors took to the brush and kept the Indians at bay with their two remaining rifles. By traveling in the night-time and hiding in the brush in the day-time, they managed to elude the Indians, but suffered terribly from their wounds and for want of provisions and clothing. Dr. Bailey had received a fearful wound from a tomahawk, which split his lower jaw from the point of the chin to the throat. From want of proper treatment, the parts never properly united, and many old pioneers will recollect the unsightly scar that disfigured his face for life. Saunders' wounds disabled him from traveling, and he was left on the South Umpqua, and "Big Tom" was left on the North Umpqua. The Indians subsequently reported to Dr. McLoughlin that both men had died of their wounds where they were left. Turner, Gay, Woodworth and Dr. Bailey, after reaching the head of the Willamette Valley, differed about the route. Turner mistook the Willamette for the Columbia. Gay, in his sea voyages, had seen a map or chart showing that the Columbia ran west, and determined to strike due north in search of the great river, upon the banks of which he expected to find Hudson's Bay trappers and traders. Turner, Bailey and Woodworth followed him to the Willamette River until, in a famishing condition, they struck the Methodist mission below Salem. Gay kept along the foot-hills on the west side of the valley and crossed the Rickreall about where Dallas now stands, and crossed the Yamhill River at the falls near Lafayette, passing along on the west side of Wapatoe Lake, and crossing the Tualatin Plains, reached Wyeth's trading post on Sauvie's Island some time in August. Before separating from his companions, Gay had cut up his buckskin breeches to make moccasins for the party, and made the most of the journey in a naked condition, with the exception of the tattered remnants of an old shirt. The mosquitoes nearly devoured him in the Columbia bottoms. This perilous trip of nearly 500 miles was made nearly fifty years ago, and was a terrible test of the endurance of a naked, wounded, and starving man.

There were, however, other settlers than the Americans. In 1828, Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was then on an official visit to Fort Vancouver, took possession of the Willamette Falls, for the purpose, as expressed by him, of

locating there a colony of their retired servants. It had previously been the policy of the company not to permit settlements to be made by their servants whose term of contract had expired, since they deemed them detrimental to the preservation of this region as a fur-producing wilderness. They wanted no settlements here whatever, neither British nor American. This move at Willamette Falls was not persisted in, but a few years later some of their ex-servants located about Champoege, or French Prairie, in Marion county, and became quite a flourishing colony; and from their descendants live to the present day, useful and industrious citizens.

On the subject of the first settlements in the valley, Dr. McLoughlin's posthumous manuscript has much to say. The Etinne Lucier, spoken of by him, is the one mentioned above. He first settled on the east side of the Willamette, opposite the city of Portland, where he lived several years before removing to French Prairie. The Doctor says:—

In 1824 I came to this country to superintend the management of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade on the coast, and we came to the determination to abandon Astoria, and go to Fort Vancouver, as it was a place where we could cultivate the soil and raise our own provisions. In March, 1825, we moved there and that spring planted potatoes and sowed two bushels of peas, the only grain we had, and all we had. In the fall I received from New York Factory a bushel spring wheat, a bushel oats, a bushel barley, a bushel Indian corn and a quart of timothy, and all of which was sown in proper time, and which produce well except the Indian corn, for which the ground was too poor and the nights rather cool, and continued extending our improvements. In 1828, the crop was sufficient to enable us to dispense with the importation of flour, etc.

In 1825, from what I had seen of the country, I formed the conclusion from the mildness and salubrity of the climate, that this was the finest portion of North America that I had seen for the residence of civilized man, and as the farmers could not cultivate the ground without cattle, and as the Hudson's Bay Company had only twenty-seven (27) head, big and small, and as I saw at the time no possibility of getting cattle by sea, and that was too expensive, I determined that no cattle should be killed at Vancouver except one bull calf every year for rennet to make cheese, till we had an ample stock to meet all our demands, and to assist settlers, a resolution to which I strictly adhered, and the first animal killed for beef was in 1838; till that time we had lived on fresh and salt venison and wild fowl. From morality and policy I stopped the sale and issue of spiritous liquor to the Indians, but to do this effectually I had to stop the sale of liquor to all whites. In 1834, when Mr. Wyeth, of Boston, came, he began by selling liquor, but on my assuring him that the Hudson's Bay Company sold no liquor to whites or Indians, he immediately adopted the same rule.

* * * * *

In 1828, Etinne Lucier, a Willamette trapper, asked me if I thought this would become a settled country. I told him wherever wheat grew, he might depend it would become a farming country. He asked me what assistance I would afford

him to settle as a farmer. I told him I would loan him seed to sow and wheat to feed himself and family, to be returned from the produce of his farm, and sell him such implements as were in the Hudson's Bay Company's store, at fifty per cent. on prime cost. But a few days after he came back and told me he thought there was too remote a prospect of this becoming a civilized country, and as there were no clergymen in the country, he asked me a passage for his family in the Hudson's Bay Company's boats, to which I acceded. He started in September to meet the boats at the mountain; the express came in too late and he had to return, and went to hunt for the winter.

In 1829 he again applied to begin to farm. I told him that since he had spoken to me I heard that several trappers would apply for assistance to begin to farm, and that it was necessary for me to come to a distinct understanding with him to serve as a rule for those who might follow. That the Hudson's Bay Company were bound under heavy penalties to discharge none of their servants in the Indian country, and bound to return them to the place where they engaged them. That this was done to prevent vagabonds being let loose among the Indians and incite them to hostility to the whites. But as I knew he was a good, honest man, and none but such need apply, and as if he went to Canada and unfortunately died before his children could provide for themselves they would become objects of pity and a burthen to others. For these reasons I would assist him to settle. But I must keep him and all the Hudson's Bay Company's servants whom I allowed to settle, on the Hudson's Bay Company's books as servants, so as not to expose the Hudson's Bay Company and me to a fine, but they could work for themselves, and no service would be exacted from them.

Many of the Canadians objected to go to the Willamette, because it was to become American Territory, which I told them it would, as the Hudson's Bay Company in 1825 officially informed that on no event could the British Government claim extend south of the Columbia, and that they were afraid they would not have the same advantages as American citizens. I told them from the fertility of the soil, the extent of prairie and the easy access from the sea, that the Willamette (they must admit) was the best and only place adapted to form a settlement which would have a beneficial effect on the whole country north of San Francisco, where we could assist and protect them from the Indians in case of difficulty, and as to advantages I did not know what they would have, but this I knew, that the American Government and people knew only two classes of persons, rogues and honest men, that they punished the first and protected the last, and it depended only upon themselves to what class they would belong.

Others wanted to go and live with the relatives of their wives, but as their children would be brought up with the sympathies and feelings of Indians, and as the half-breeds are in general leaders among Indians, and they would be a thorn in the side of the whites, I insisted they should go to the Willamette, where their children could be brought up as whites and Christians, and brought to cultivate the ground and imbued with the feelings and sympathies of whites, and where they and their mothers would serve as hostages for the good behavior of their relatives in the interior. As Indians judge of whites by themselves, and I think if they injure whites on their lands, the whites would revenge it by murdering their Indian relatives among them, and as the settlement increased by the addition of Indian women half-breeds, the turbulence of the Indian tribes would diminish; and certainly the Cayuse war would not have been quelled so easily as it was if other half-breeds had not joined the Americans; and I have great pleasure to be able to say, what must be admitted by all who know them, that the Canadian trappers and half-breeds who have settled as farmers, are as peaceable, orderly, neighborly and industrious a set of men as any in the settlement; and that so far the Canadian settlement has

produced and supplied three-fourths of the grain that has been exported. [Every pioneer will heartily endorse this eulogy of the people of French Prairie.]

* * * * *

I made it a rule that none of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants should be allowed to join the settlements unless he had fifty pounds sterling before him, as he required that sum to supply him with clothing and implements. He that begins business on credit is seldom so careful and industrious as he who does business on his own means. By this I effected two objects—I made the men more saving and industrious, and attached them to their farms. If I had not done so, they would have abandoned on the least difficulty. But having their means invested on their improvements, they saw if they abandoned the loss would be theirs, they therefore persisted and succeeded. When the settlement was formed, though the American trappers had no means, they were assisted on credit, and *all* in three years paid up from the produce of their farms.

The presence of American settlers was extremely distasteful to the company; not simply because they were Americans, but because they were American settlers. The officers of the company were instructed not to encourage them in any way. It stood ready to sell to the settlers at a high price, but not to purchase from them anything whatever. They were without cattle, except a few rented to them by the company, and until they possessed them could not be or feel independent of the overshadowing corporation. To remedy this evil, Young and Jason Lee (who never let the fact that he came to Oregon simply as a missionary prevent him from advancing American interests whenever possible), set on foot a scheme to procure a supply of cattle from the vast herds grazing about the Spanish Missions in California. The effort was opposed by the company, but with the aid of Lieutenant William A. Slocum, an officer of the United States Navy, who advanced money and gave a free passage to California in his vessel to those who went after the cattle, it was completely successful, and "The Willamette Cattle Company" was organized. The party which went to California was under the leadership of Mr. Young, and was composed of P. L. Edwards (who kept a diary of the expedition, which is now preserved in the State Library at Sacramento and numbered 23,989), Hawchurst, Carmichael, Bailey, Erequette, DesPau, Williams, Tibbetts, George Gay, Wood, Camp, Turner, and enough others to make a company of about twenty men, all inured to the dangers and privations of mountain life. They collected a band of seven hundred cattle, at three dollars per head, and, with much labor and difficulty, succeeded in bringing six hundred of them into the valley. They

had much trouble with the Indians on Siskiyou Mountain and along Rogue River, and Gay, without any foundation, charges the company with stirring up the Indians to cut them off. The fact is, as Edwards' diary plainly shows, the trouble grew out of the unprovoked murder by one of the party of an Indian who visited their camp on Klamath River. Turner, Gay and Bailey were three of four survivors of the American trapping party which had been attacked on Rogue River two years before, and shot this Indian in a spirit of revenge. It is certainly difficult to trace any agency of the company in this affair, or to assign any other cause than wanton murder for their trouble with the Indians. The arrival of the cattle was hailed with joy by the settlers, as it guaranteed them complete independence of the company, and demonstrated that Americans could settle in the Willamette Valley with an assurance of being self-supporting.

Such is the version of the cattle question, as it comes from American sources. Dr. McLoughlin gives quite another tone to it. His document says:—

Every settler had as much wheat on loan as he wanted to begin with, and I lent them each two cows, as in 1825 we had only twenty-seven head, big and small, old and young. If I sold they would of course be entitled to the increase, and I would not have the means to assist the new settlers, and the settlement would be retarded, as those purchasers who offered me two hundred dollars for a cow would put such a price on the increase as would put it out of the power of poor settlers to buy. This would prevent industrious men from settling. For these reasons I would not sell, but loaned, as I say, two cows to each settler, and in case the increase of settlers might be greater than we could afford to supply with cattle, I reserved the right to take any cattle I required (above his two cows) from any settlers to assist new settlers. To the Methodist Mission, as it was a public institution, I lent seven oxen, one bull and eight cows with their calves. In the beginning, several settlers lost cattle, poisoned by eating water hemlock. It has been said by the late Mr. Thurston, Delegate from Oregon, on the floor of Congress, that settlers paid for dead cattle. This is a wanton falsehood, as it is well known to all old settlers that no settler paid a cent for dead cattle. It was a loss to the company.

In 1836 we found means of forming a company to go to California for cattle. I took half the stock for the Hudson's Bay Company, so that by purchasing a large number (as the expense of driving five hundred or a thousand was the same) as it would make the cattle cheaper. Those of the settlers that had means put it in the stock; those that had none, engaged as drivers at one dollar per day, to be paid in cattle at their actual cost. Mr. Slocum, who came here in a chartered vessel, gave them a passage gratis from this place to San Francisco. Mr. Ewing Young was selected to conduct the party. Mr. P. L. Edwards, who came with Messrs. Lee, of the Methodist Mission, but now a lawyer in California, was appointed Treasurer. They brought, I think, about seven hundred head of cattle, which cost eight dollars per head rendered. In the Willamette, the settlers kept the tame and broken-in

oxen they had belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, and gave their California wild cattle in the place, so that they found themselves stocked with tame cattle which cost them only eight dollars per head, and the Hudson's Bay Company, to favor the settlers, took calves in place of grown-up cattle, because the Hudson's Bay Company wanted them for beef. These calves would grow up before they were required.

At the close of 1837, the independent population of Oregon consisted of forty-nine souls, about equally divided between missionary attachés and settlers. With but few exceptions the arrivals during the next two years were solely of persons connected with the various missions, whose advent has already been noted. Those coming in 1839 were, Rev. J. S. Griffin and wife, and Mr. Munger and wife, who had made an unsuccessful effort to found an independent mission on Snake River, and Ben Wright, Robert Shortess, Sidney Smith, Lawson, Keiser, Geiger, and Blair, a blacksmith. By adding the following list of arrivals in 1840, to those previously mentioned, the population of Oregon at that time will be quite accurately listed. Mr. Gray thus summarizes the arrivals of that season:—

In 1840—Methodist Episcopal Protestant Mission—Mrs. Lee, second wife of Rev. Jason Lee; Rev. J. H. Frost and wife; Rev. A. F. Waller, wife and two children; Rev. W. W. Kone and wife; Rev. G. Hines, wife and sister; Rev. L. H. Judson, wife and two children; Rev. J. L. Parish, wife and three children; Rev. G. P. Richards, wife and three children; Rev. A. P. Olley and wife. Laymen—Mr. Geo. Abernethy, wife and two children; Mr. H. Campbell, wife and one child; Mr. W. W. Raymond and wife; Mr. H. B. Brewer and wife; Dr. J. L. Babcock, wife and one child; Mrs. Daniel Lee; Mrs. David Carter; Mrs. Joseph Holman; Miss E. Phillips. Independent Protestant Mission—Rev. Harvey Clarke and wife; P. B. Littlejohn and wife; Robert Moore, James Cook, and James [Travers, according to Judge Deady,] Fletcher, settlers. Jesuit Priests—P. J. DeSmet, Flathead Mission. Rocky Mountain men with native wives—William Craig, Doctor Robert Newell, Joseph L. Meek, George Ebbert, William M. Dougherty, John Larison, Geo. Wilkinson, a Mr. Nicholson, and Mr. Algear, and William Johnson, author of the novel, "Leni Leoti, or The Prairie Flower." The subject was first written and read before the Lyceum at Oregon City, in 1843.

He classifies the population as follows: American settlers, twenty-five of them with Indian wives, 36; American women, 33; children, 32; lay members, Protestant Missions, 13; Methodist Ministers, 13; Congregational, 6; American Physicians, 3; English Physicians, 1; Jesuit Priests, including DeSmet, 3; Canadian French, 60. Total Americans, 137; total Canadians, including Priests, 63; total population, not including Hudson's Bay Company operatives,

within what now is a portion of Montana, and all of Idaho, Washington and Oregon, 200.

Up to 1839 the only law or government administered in this region was the rules of the Hudson's Bay Company; but that year, deeming that there must be some authority which the settlers would respect, the Methodist missionaries designated two persons to act as magistrates. This was done entirely without the co-operation of the settlers, but the action received their endorsement, or, at least, was generally acquiesced in. Several cases came before these officers for adjudication, the most important being the trial of T. J. Hubbard for murder, he having shot a man who was attempting to enter his cabin through the window. The magistrate was Rev. David Leslie. The prisoner was acquitted by the jury.

Settlements were made at this time with reference to the possible division of the country on the line of the Columbia River, all Americans locating south of the stream, and none but British subjects north of it. Cook, Fletcher and Moore settled on the banks of the Willamette, near the falls, the last named locating directly opposite the cataract, on the west bank. He purchased a section of land of the Indians, a transaction which, of course, had no legal force, and named his place "Robin's Nest." Dr. McLoughlin claimed the opposite end of the falls, and, later, when he resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company, located there and became as good an American as any of them. He thus relates some of the difficulties he experienced with this claim:—

In 1840, as I already stated, the Methodist Mission received a large reinforcement. I had selected for a claim, Oregon City, in 1829, made improvements on it and had a large quantity of timber squared. The Superintendent applied to me for a loan of some of it to build a mission house. I lent them the timber and had a place pointed out to them upon which to build. In 1840 the Methodist Mission formed a milling association and jumped part of my claim and began to build a saw and grist mill. They assumed the right to judge of my rights, and said that I could not hold it as part of my claim, though the stream that separates the islet from the main land is not more than forty feet wide in summer. This island is what is called "Abernethy Island," and is about three or four acres in extent. In 1842, Mr. Walker, the resident missionary in the house, to build which I lent timber, which they never returned, and gave the ground upon which to build, set up a claim to Oregon City in opposition to me, but after some difficulty, I paid them \$500 and he gave it up. I preferred to do this and have done with it rather than hereafter trouble Government with it.

It has been remarked that the policy of the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany was to discourage any settlements whatever, preferring that the country should remain uninhabited by all save the Indians and the actual servants of the company. It had even gone to the expense of sending to Canada those employees whose terms of service expired. Had they but themselves and employees to deal with, the policy was a wise one for the purpose of effecting the end aimed at—the preservation of the country in its primeval state—but with the complication of independent American settlers it was the reverse. Had the company from the beginning colonized Oregon with its discharged servants, as it had previously done the Red River region, there would now have been such a flourishing colony as would have completely overshadowed the Americans, if, indeed, it did not prevent their coming altogether. Failure to do this lost Great Britain her only hope of acquiring Oregon. The company's eyes were fully opened to the danger when the Wallamet Cattle Company was organized in 1837. It resolved then upon a radical and immediate change of policy—to colonize the country with subjects of Great Britain as rapidly as possible. Accordingly, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was organized in 1837 as an associate of the company, which it was to supply with its products as well as carry on a trade with the Sandwich Islands and Alaska. The company, for reasons previously stated, selected a location on the north side of the Columbia, at Cowlitz and Nesqually. It took several years to carry the scheme into effect, since it was necessary to bring a large emigration from the company's older colony on Red River. The settlement on French Prairie has been mentioned; this consisted of about twenty-five families at the time Father Blanchet arrived in 1838, and located there the Mission of St. Paul, where a school and church have ever since been maintained. The plan of the company was to thus overwhelm the American settlers in point of numbers, and at the same time to open negotiations between the home governments for a final settlement of the mooted question of title, in which the great preponderance of English subjects should be urged as a reason why Great Britain's claim to the country should be conceded. To the defeat of this deep-laid plan the United States is indebted largely to Dr. Marcus Whitman's perspicacity, determination and patriotism, as will appear later on.

The company's plans embraced, also, a studied and persistent

misrepresentation of the agricultural resources of the country. The idea was industriously impressed upon every one that Oregon was a barren waste, of no earthly value except as a fur region. By this means it was hoped not only to discourage emigration, but to impress upon American statesmen the idea that a country of such little value for colonization was not worth contending for, and some of the speeches made in Congress by several of the foremost men of the nation show how well the plan succeeded. That England, and Englishmen generally, became imbued with the same idea was of no consequence, since the company did not desire English settlers other than such as, in a measure, belonged to it; and England could be relied upon to do her best to secure it as a perpetual trapping ground for this great corporation, which was her powerful representative in the extreme West. Not only was the region decried, but it was asserted with great positiveness that it was absolutely impossible for wagons to cross the mountains, and that emigrants could not pass overland from the Mississippi Valley. Every book of English origin laid great stress upon these facts, and they were echoed by the magazines and newspapers. Said John Dunn, a former clerk of the company, in his work on Oregon: "None but the wild and fearless free-trappers can clamber over these precipices and tread these deserts with security. It is true that there have been published more favorable accounts, within the last year or two, by parties who have made the journey safely, and who encourage others to make a similar experiment, but these accounts are mere bravado." In 1843, the *Edinburg Review* said: "However the political question between England and the United States, as to the ownership of Oregon, may be decided, Oregon will never be colonized overland from the United States. The world must assume a new phase before the American wagons will make plain the road to the Columbia, as they have done to the Ohio." These extracts are sufficient to show the general tenor of them all.

In this there was nothing either criminal or dishonest, nothing which Americans would not have done under the same circumstances; and yet certain writers speak of this and other steps of the company to obtain, or retain, possession of Oregon, as constituting a heinous crime. In looking at this matter one should divest himself of all national and religious prejudice or bigotry. Both na-

tions having well-founded claims to the country, the subjects of Great Britain certainly were as fully justified in making an effort for possession as were the citizens of the United States; and the actual fact is that they were less active, less aggressive than were the Americans, to which is largely due their defeat in the contest upon which they entered with every advantage. Because they made these efforts, parties who were equally active on the other side have charged the company with grave crimes, not the least of which was the inciting of the natives to murder American settlers and missionaries. These charges rest solely upon the most flimsy circumstantial evidence, which is outweighed by the conduct and character of the officers who administered the company's affairs in Oregon. It is not the purpose of the writer to engage in a general defense of the Hudson's Bay Company, or acquit it of all censure; for he believes its policy to have been harsh and cruel, though natural and human. He would, however, desire to defend the name of good Dr. McLoughlin from the aspersions of men who were not worthy to untie the latchet of his shoes; who possessed neither his large and liberal mind, nor his warm and generous heart. He must be dissociated entirely from the company whose chief representative he was, since he failed utterly to carry out its policy. He was ever the sympathizing friend of the needy pioneer, and liberally aided him in distress; and when called to account, in 1844, for not enforcing the company's orders to withhold from American settlers all assistance whatever, resigned his position and became nearly penniless because of being held personally responsible for the debts he had permitted many distressed emigrants to contract for necessary supplies, which debts, it may be stated, many never had the honor or gratitude to discharge. Aside from this order to withhold assistance, which, had it been enforced by Dr. McLoughlin, would have caused great distress, and which, of course, not being present to witness it, the chief officers of the company could not fully appreciate, there was nothing in the conduct of the company which would not be looked upon in any country and by any people as proper and necessary for the protection of their interests, could they be placed in a similar position. It is questionable if the gentlemen entertaining such bitter feelings had possessed the great power of the company, whether they would have used it as honorably and conscientiously

as did Dr. McLoughlin and his associates. These narrow-minded views were not entertained by Dr. Whitman, the Nestor of them all. He had a brain sufficiently large, and a nature sufficiently honorable, to divorce politics and personality, and he honored and respected some of these men, and enjoyed their warmest friendship, while doing more than any other man to counteract and defeat their plans. The active part taken politically by the Protestant missionaries lost them the support they at first received from the company, which was transferred to the Catholics, who, as subjects of Great Britain, could be counted upon to further its interests. It was this support of their religious adversaries which caused the bitter enmity of certain Protestant historians to the company. The mutual intolerance of adherents of the two creeds, and the especially bitter spirit engendered by the contest for spiritual control of the Indians, sufficiently explain why those whose minds were thus wrought up to a belief in the commission of fiendish acts by their Catholic opponents, should extend their prejudices to the company which aided in their defeat.

Dr. McLoughlin treats the subject of his attitude and conduct towards American settlers at great length, and justice to him requires that his words be given in full. He says:—

In 1843, about 800 emigrants arrived from the States. I saw by the looks of the Indians that they were excited, and I watched them. As the first stragglers were arriving at Vancouver in canoes, I was standing on the bank. Nearer the water there was a group of ten or twelve Indians. One of them bawled out to his companions, "It is good for us to kill these Bostons!" Struck with the excitement I had seen in the countenances of the Indians since they had heard the report of the immigration coming, I felt certain they were inclined to mischief, and that he spoke thus loud as a feeler to sound me, and take their measures accordingly. I immediately rushed on them with my cane, calling out at the same time, "Who is the dog that says it is a good thing to kill these Bostons!" The fellow, trembling, excused himself, "I spoke without meaning harm, but the Dalles Indians say so." "Well," said I, "the Dalles Indians are dogs for saying so, and you also," and left him, as, if I had remained longer, it would have had a bad effect. I had done enough to convince them I would not allow them to do wrong to the immigrants with impunity. From this Indian saying, in the way he did, that the Dalles Indians said it was good to kill the Bostons, I felt it my duty to do all I could to avert so horrid a deed.

Mr. P. L. Edwards, whom I mentioned, came in 1834, with Messrs. Lee, and left in 1838, sent me a letter by Gen. McCarver, stating he had given a letter of introduction to me to P. H. Burnett, Esq. I immediately formed my plan and kept my knowledge of the horrid design of the Indians secret, as I felt certain that if Americans knew it, these men acting independent of each other, would be at once for fighting, which would lead to their total destruction, and I sent two (2) boats

with provisions to meet them; sent provisions to Mr. Burnett, and a large quantity of provisions for sale to those who would purchase, and to be given to those who had not the means, being confident that the fright I had given (as already stated, the Indians who said it was a good thing to kill the Bostons was known at the Dalles before our boats were there, and that with the presence of the Hudson's Bay Company people, and the assistance they afforded the immigrants, would deter the Indians from doing them any wrong, and I am happy to be able to say I entirely succeeded. At first I thought these Indians were excited by some of the Iroquois Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, and tried to find if so, but found nothing to enlighten me on the subject.

About a month after Dr. Whitman, from his mission Walla Walla to Vancouver, as the Dalles was on his way, and as he had seen the principal men there, it occurred to me that he might have heard of it, and told him what I heard the Indian say, and how I had alarmed him, what I had done to deter them and my suspicion that all this sprung from some of our rascally Iroquois, and that I was anxious to find that rascal out to punish him as an example to deter others. "Oh," says the Doctor, "I know all about it." "You do, Doctor," says I. "Yes," said the Doctor, "and I have known it for two years." "You have known it for two years and you told me nothing! Pray tell me his name." The Doctor, seeing I was on the wrong scent, said, "His name is Thomas Hill." After thinking for some time, I replied, the Hudson's Bay Company had no man of that name in their service. "Oh," says the Doctor, "Tom Hill the Shawnee." This Indian, it is said, had been educated at Dartmouth College in the States, had told the Indians that a few Americans had come to settle on their land; that the Shawnees allowed them, but when the Americans were strong enough they drove the Shawnees off and now the Shawnees have no lands, and had urged the Indians to allow no Americans to settle on their lands, which advice the Indians about Walla Walla say the Cayuses are following to this day, and the Indians are inclined to follow by killing the immigrants who first came, and which I believe they would have done but for the decided and cautious manner that I acted. And the reason the Indian made use of the expression he did, was because I punished the murderers of the Smith party, and before acting they wanted to know how I would treat them, and most certainly if I had not been most anxious for the safety of the immigrants and to discharge to them the duties of a Christian, my ear would not have caught so quickly the words, "It is a good thing to kill these Bostons," and acted as I did. In fact, if the immigrants had all been my brothers and sisters, I could not have done more for them. I fed the hungry, caused the sick to be attended to and nursed, furnished them every assistance so long as they required it, and which some have not paid to this day, though abundantly able, and for which, if they do not pay, I am answerable to the Hudson's Bay Company. It may be said, and has been said, that I was too liberal in making these advances. It is not so, but was done judiciously and prudently.

When the immigration of 1842 came, we had enough of breadstuffs in the country for one year, but as the immigrants reported that next season there would be a greater immigration, it was evident if there was not a proportionate increase of seed sown in 1843 and 1844, there would be a famine in the country in 1845, which would lead to trouble, as those that had families, to save them from starvation, would be obliged to have recourse to violence to get food for them. To avert this I freely supplied the immigrants of 1843 and 1844 with the necessary articles to open farms, and by these means avoided the evils. In short I afforded every assistance to the immigrants so long as they required it, and by management I kept peace in the country, and in some cases had to put up with a great deal; for instance, when the milling company jumped part of my claim, the island upon which they built a mill, and

which subsequently Abernethy purchased, and when Williamson jumped part of Fort Vancouver, as may be seen by my correspondence with the provisional government on the subject, and which occurred in the presence of several American citizens, who I am happy to say strongly expressed their disapprobation of Williamson's conduct, and which I am induced to believe made him desist, and it will be seen, to their credit, that Messrs....., the Executive Committee, acted in a straightforward, manly and correct manner, and it was by such conduct on the part of respectable American citizens, that peace and order were maintained in the country. It is true, several thought I was too forbearing; but when I saw how much the good on both sides would suffer if I acted differently, and that a war between Great Britain and the United States might be caused by it, I considered it my duty to act as I did, and by which I think I may have prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain. And how have I been treated by both?

By British demagogues I have been represented as a traitor. For what? Because I acted as a Christian; saved American citizens, men, women and children from the Indian tomahawk, and enabled them to make farms to support their families. American demagogues have been base enough to assert that I had caused American citizens to be massacred by hundreds by the savages. I, who saved all I could. I have been represented by the delegate from Oregon, the late S. R. Thurston, as doing all I could to prevent the settling, while it was well known to every American settler who is acquainted with the history of the Territory, that this is a downright falsehood, and most, certainly will say, that they most firmly believe that I did all I could to promote its settlement, and that I could not have done more for the settlers if they had been my brothers and sisters, and after being the first person to take a claim in the country and assisting the immigrants as I have, my claim is reserved, after having expended all the means I had to improve it, while every other settler in the country gets his. But as I felt convinced that any disturbance between us here might lead to a war between Great Britain and the States, I felt it my bounden duty as a Christian, to act as I did, and which I think averted the evil, and which was so displeasing to some English demagogues that they represented me to the British Government as a person so partial to American interests as selling the Hudson's Bay Company goods in my charge cheaper to American than I did to British subjects. On the other hand, though, if the American immigrants had been my brothers and sisters, I could not have done more for them; yet, after acting as I have, spending my means and doing my utmost to settle the country, my claim is reserved, while every other settler in the country gets his; and how much this has injured me, is daily injuring me, it is needless to say, and certainly it is a treatment I do not deserve and which I did not expect. To be brief, I founded this settlement and prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain, and for doing this peaceably and quietly, I was treated by the British in such a manner that from self respect I resigned my situation in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, by which I sacrificed \$12,000 per annum, and the "Oregon Land Bill" shows the treatment I received from the Americans.

It is a pleasure to state that all liberal-minded pioneers regard the good Doctor as one of the grandest and most noble characters with whom they ever came in contact.

The population of Oregon may be classified, in 1840, into four distinct divisions—the Hudson's Bay Company; the Catholic missionaries and their French protégés; the Protestant missionaries;

and the independent settlers. The first two generally acted together, though there were a few members of the Catholic church who favored American rule. Though not always in full accord, and occasionally opposing each other, the settlers and missionaries, as a rule, acted together, the missions serving as a rallying point for the settlers. These latter cared nothing for the religious creed the missionaries represented, their sole object in securing homes in the Willamette Valley being to better their worldly condition, yet they favored the mission to the extent that it served their purpose of settling in the country. The missions of the American Board located east of the mountains, cut no figure at first in the organization of a government, that movement being confined to the settlers in the Willamette Valley. The motives which actuated them are thus set forth by J. Quinn Thornton:—

Distant from the land of their birth, surrounded by restless tribes of Indians, who clamorously and insolently demanded of the immigrants pay for lands which the immigrants had neither the means nor the right to purchase; still ardently desiring to have their names and their destiny connected with that of the republic, and yet, often pierced to the heart by the thought, which would sometimes, unbidden, obtrude itself upon the mind, that they were the victims of their country's neglect and injustice, and suffering all the inconveniences and embarrassments which are necessarily felt by a resident and civilized community, without a system of laws for the conservation of peace and order, they were at length compelled to organize a provisional government.

Their first step was taken March 16, 1838, when J. L. Whitcomb and thirty-five other settlers prepared a memorial, which was presented to Congress January 28, 1839, by Senator Linn. This document set forth the resources and condition of the country, and contained the following paragraph:—

We are anxious when we imagine what will be, what must be, the condition of so mixed a community, free from all legal restraint and superior to that moral influence which has hitherto been the pledge of our safety. We flatter ourselves *that we are the germ of a great State* and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of our citizens—the destinies of our posterity will be intimately affected by the character of those who immigrate. The territory must populate—the Congress of the United States must say by whom. The natural resources of the country, with a well-judged civil code, will invite a good community, but a good community will hardly emigrate to a country which promises no protection to life or property. * * * We can boast of no civil code. We can promise no protection but the ulterior resort of self-defense. * * * We have thus briefly shown that the security of our persons and our property, the hopes and destinies of our children, are involved in the subject of our petition. We do not presume to suggest the manner in which the country should be occupied by the Government, nor the extent to which our settlement should be encouraged.

We confide in the wisdom of our national legislators, and leave the subject to their candid deliberations.

This petition was read, laid on the table, and neglected. In June, 1840, Senator Linn again presented a memorial, signed by seventy citizens of Oregon :—

Your petitioners represent that they are residents in Oregon Territory, and citizens of the United States, or persons desirous of becoming such. They further represent that they have settled themselves in said Territory, under the belief that it was a portion of the public domain of the United States, and that they might rely upon the government thereof for the blessings of free institutions and the protection of its arms. But your petitioners further represent, that they are uninformed of any acts of said Government by which its institutions and protection are extended to them; in consequence whereof, themselves and families are exposed to be destroyed by the savages *and others that would do them harm*. And your petitioners would further represent that they have no means of protecting their own and the lives of their families, other than self-constituted tribunals, organized and sustained by the power of an ill-instructed public opinion, and the resort to force and arms. And your petitioners represent these means of safety to be an insufficient safeguard of life and property. * * * * * Your petitioners wherefore pray the Congress of the United States of America, to establish, as soon as may be, a territorial government in Oregon Territory.

The phrase which is italicized in the above memorial undoubtedly refers to the Hudson's Bay Company, which, so *one* of the settlers then believed and a few still affect to believe, designed their destruction. The absurdity of this has already been pointed out by calling attention to the character of the company's officers in Oregon, and to the very patent fact that had such been their intention it would have been carried out, since nothing could have been easier of accomplishment. That the company succeeded in "freezing out" opposition traders, by exerting its authority to prevent the Indians from trading with its rivals, and by refusing to sell such men supplies when in business distress, is an undisputed fact; and that it sought to "starve out" all American settlers, or, at least, keep them in practical subjection, is equally undisputable, and would probably have been as fully successful had another than Dr. McLoughlin been in charge at Vancouver; but that it sought to achieve these ends by murder and inciting the Indians to slaughter them, lacks proof of any kind. Its domination over the Indians was so complete that a simple hint that the company desired the Americans killed would have been sufficient to have accomplished that end. The simple fact that these petitioners lived for many years exposed

to attack and never once received it, is evidence enough to show that the fears expressed in the memorial were ungrounded.

Having thus provided for making known the situation of affairs to Congress, and being well aware that one, and possibly two, years must roll around before they could even know that their petition had been presented, they addressed themselves to the task of providing such government as was absolutely required for the security of their families and the proper conservation of the peace. The principal settlement was at Champoege, and there a meeting was held on the seventh of February, 1841, the record of which shows that it was "a meeting of some of the inhabitants * * * for the purpose of consulting upon steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws, and the election of officers to execute them." Rev. Jason Lee was called to the chair, and requested to express his opinion of what was necessary to be done. In a brief speech, which indicates that he had given considerable thought to the subject, he advised the appointment of a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws for the government of that portion of the territory lying south of the Columbia. The people were also recommended to consider the question of a governor and other officers. Here the matter rested temporarily; but an event happened a few days later which revived it with greater vigor. This was the death of that able and energetic leader, Ewing Young, on the fifteenth of February. His funeral, which was held two days later, was attended by nearly every settler in the valley. Mr. Young possessed considerable property, and left no visible heirs to claim it and no one to administer upon the estate. Had he been a servant, or even an employee of the company, the officers would have taken charge of the effects; or had he been associated with one of the missions, there would have been no doubt about the disposition of his property; but he was simply an independent settler, and no one had any color of authority to act in the premises. After the funeral ceremonies were concluded, the people organized a "meeting of some of the inhabitants of the Wallamet Valley, for consultation concerning the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws, and the election of officers to execute the same, and for the better preservation of peace and good order." Rev. Jason Lee was chosen Chairman, and Rev. Gustavus Hines Secretary. It was determined to institute a civil gov-

ernment south of the Columbia, to the protection of which any person living north of that stream and not connected with the company, might be admitted upon application. The form of government decided upon was a legislative committee, a governor, a supreme judge with probate powers, three justices of the peace, three constables, three road commissioners, an attorney-general, a clerk of the courts and public recorder, a treasurer, and two overseers of the poor. Names of gentlemen to occupy the various offices were suggested, and then the meeting adjourned to assemble the next day at the Methodist Mission, and elect officers. Nearly all the male population south of the Columbia assembled at the time and place specified. There were three distinct factions—the Methodist missionaries and their associates, the independent settlers, and the Catholics as allies of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first business was the choice of a committee to draft a constitution and code of laws, the following gentlemen being selected: Rev. F. N. Blanchet, representing the Catholics; Rev. Jason Lee, Rev. Gustavus Hines and Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, representing the Methodist Mission; D. Donpierre and M. Charlevo, representing the French Canadian settlers; Robert Moore and Etinne Lucier, representing the American settlers; William Johnson, representing the purely English element. The main point at issue between the factions seemed to be the position of governor; Revs. Leslie and Hines and Dr. J. L. Babcock were the mission candidates, and seemed liable to divide the vote sufficiently to ensure the election of Dr. Bailey, a man of strong English prejudices, who was opposed to religion generally. He could secure the French Catholics and a majority of the settlers' votes, but the latter element he alienated by his extreme immodesty in nominating himself. It was finally decided to dispense with a governor, the duties of that office being discharged by the supreme judge, to which position Dr. J. L. Babcock was elected. He was instructed to render decisions in cases which might come before him, in accordance with the New York code; but as there was not a New York statute book west of the Rocky Mountains, it would have been difficult to determine whether he complied or not. The committee being divided between the different interests, and the bench having fallen to the Methodists, the Catholics were given the recorder in the person of George W. LeBreton, who had come out in the brig

Maryland, and was a young man of good education. Later, he affiliated entirely with the settlers, and is spoken of by the priests at the time of his death, which will be subsequently noted, as being an apostate. The English element was represented by William Johnson, as high sheriff. Joseph Gervais, Hadier Laderaut (*Zania Ladaroot*), Pierre Billique and William McCarty were chosen constables. The other offices designated were not filled; to have done so would have required nearly every prominent man in the settlements. The meeting then adjourned to assemble on the first Tuesday in June, at the new building near the Catholic church. Dr. Babcock administered upon the estate of Mr. Young, and as no heirs appeared to claim it, the property was devoted to the building, two years later, of a jail at Oregon City, the first of its kind west of the Rocky Mountains. A score of years later the Oregon Legislature refunded the value of the estate to Joaquin Young, of New Mexico, who proved himself to be a son of the deceased pioneer.

Upon the day appointed in June the people again assembled, and learned that the committee had not framed a constitution, nor had they even met for that purpose. Rev. F. N. Blanchet resigned, and after choosing Dr. Bailey to fill the vacancy, the meeting instructed the committee to "confer with the Commodore of the American squadron and John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, with regard to forming a constitution and code of laws for this community." The meeting then adjourned till the following October. The naval officer alluded to was Commodore Charles Wilkes, who had been despatched by the United States Government, in 1838, with a fleet of vessels, on an extended voyage of exploration, continuing five years. Wilkes was then in Oregon with the double purpose of obtaining geographical and scientific information and learning the exact situation of affairs. Personally, he enjoyed the hospitality of Dr. McLoughlin during his brief stay, several expeditions being sent out from Vancouver, one going to Puget Sound, one to the missions east of the mountains, and a third, under Lieutenant Emmons, passing up the Willamette Valley and going overland to the Bay of San Francisco, whither the squadron proceeded by sea. Having visited the various missions, talked with the settlers, and consulted with the worthy Chief

Factor, he learned that only a minority were in favor of a government, chiefly those associated with the Methodist Mission. It seemed to be the prevailing opinion that the settlement was not strong enough to sustain a government and not large enough to absolutely require it. Accordingly, Wilkes advised the committee which waited upon him, to wait until they were stronger before attempting a government, until the "Government of the United States should throw its mantle over them." This advice was accepted, and the adjourned meeting never convened. This ended the first effort to organize a local government.

The first regular emigration from the East arrived in 1841, beginning that steady stream of young and vigorous life which has annually flowed into Oregon for over forty years; and the end will not be seen for many years to come. There were deep and moving causes for this living stream to force its way through the rocky barriers and alkali deserts and cut a deep channel to Oregon. Trappers who had visited the Pacific Coast sang the praises of the lovely and fertile valleys of the Willamette and Sacramento, where winter was unknown and the grass remained green the year round. The western frontiersmen caught up the refrain as it passed from cabin to cabin; and in a few years the tale was an old one with the hardy pioneers of the West. The publication of Dr. Parker's book, Irving's "Astoria" and "Bonneville," John Dunn's work on Oregon, a letter written by Robert Shortess, who had come out in 1839, combined with a general financial depression in the Western States, caused much attention to be directed towards Oregon, California then being a province of Mexico and, consequently, less attractive to American citizens. The two steadfast friends of Oregon in Congress were the senators from Missouri, Thomas H. Benton and Lewis F. Linn, whose names are borne by two of the oldest and best counties in the Willamette Valley. They never ceased to urge upon the Government the necessity of taking some decisive step to perfect its title to the region of the Columbia, and to extend the jurisdiction of the law over this disputed country for the protection of American citizens who were making, and might in the future make, their homes in the far-off Occident. It was Senator Linn who presented the two memorials before alluded to, and who, at the same time, introduced bills for the extension of the jurisdiction of the

United States laws over Oregon, urging them warmly upon the consideration of Congress. Early in 1842 he introduced a bill granting donations of the public lands to all who might settle in Oregon, his idea being that a liberal emigration alone could be relied upon to win the Columbia for the United States, and that special inducements should be offered to those brave and hardy people who must be relied upon to thus constitute the line of battle on the frontier. With all earnestness he supported this measure in the Senate, ably seconded by his eminent colleague, but his sudden death on the 3d of October, 1843, suspended, for the time, the vitality of these measures; yet, in the donation laws passed by Congress a few years later, the pioneers of Oregon reaped the benefit of his unselfish exertions, and received the fulfillment of that implied promise which had induced many of them to undertake the toilsome and dangerous journey. In his eulogy upon his distinguished colleague, delivered in the Senate, Mr. Benton said: "In the character of such a man, so exuberant in all that is grand and beautiful in human nature, it is difficult to particularize excellencies, or pick out any one quality or circumstance which could claim pre-eminence over all others. If I should attempt it, I should point among his measures for the benefit of the whole Union, to the Oregon bills."

The emigration of 1841 consisted of one hundred and eleven persons, who, owing to the supposed impossibility of crossing the country with wagons, made no attempt to bring vehicles with them. That such was not an impossibility had been demonstrated in two instances—when Dr. Whitman took his cart to Fort Boisé in 1836, and again in 1840 by Dr. Robert Newell, an old mountaineer, who took a prominent and honorable part in the early affairs of Oregon. He was one of the arrivals of 1840 previously noted. Newell had served as guide to the Methodist missionaries from Green River to Fort Hall, where, as compensation for his services, he received the two wagons belonging to the missionaries, which they had decided to abandon at that point. The wagon party consisted of Dr. Robert Newell and family, Joseph L. Meek, Caleb Wilkins and Francis Ermatinger, a Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The incident is thus related by Dr. Newell:—

At the time I took the wagons, I had no idea of undertaking to bring them into

this country. I exchanged fat horses to these missionaries for their animals, and after they had been gone a month or more for Wallamet, and the American Fur Company had abandoned the country for good, I concluded to hitch up and try the much-dreaded job of bringing a wagon to Oregon. I sold one of these wagons to Mr. Ermatinger, at Fort Hall. Mr. Caleb Wilkins had a small wagon which Joel Walker had left at Fort Hall. On the fifth of August, 1840, we put out with three wagons. Joseph L. Meek drove my wagon. In a few days we began to realize the difficult task before us, and found that the continual crashing of the sage under our wagons, which was in many places higher than the mule's backs, was no joke. Seeing our animals begin to fail, we began to light up, finally threw away our wagon-beds and were quite sorry we had undertaken the job. All the consolation we had was that we broke the first sage on that road, and were too proud to eat anything but dried salmon skins after our provisions had become exhausted. In a rather rough and reduced state we arrived at Dr. Whitman's mission station in the Walla Walla Valley, where we were met by that hospitable man and kindly made welcome and feasted accordingly. On hearing me regret that I had undertaken to bring wagons, the Doctor said, "Oh, you will never regret it. You have broken the ice, and when others see that wagons have passed, they too will pass, and in a few years the valley will be full of our people." The Doctor shook me heartily by the hand; Mrs. Whitman, too, welcomed us, and the Indians walked around our wagons, or what they called "horse canoes," and seemed to give it up. We spent a day or so with the Doctor, and then went to Fort Walla Walla, where we were kindly received by Mr. P. C. Pambrun, Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, Superintendent of that post. On the first of October, we took leave of those kind people, *leaving our wagons* and taking the river trail—but we proceeded slowly. Our party consisted of Joseph L. Meek and myself, also our families, and a Snake Indian whom I brought to Oregon, where he died a year after our arrival. The party did not arrive at the Wallamet Falls till December, subsisting for weeks upon dried salmon, and upon several occasions compelled to swim their stock across the Columbia and Wallamet.

The emigrants from the Red River colonies which were brought to Oregon in pursuance of the plan of the Hudson's Bay Company set forth above, arrived in the fall of 1841. Sir George Simpson, governor of the company, visited Vancouver the same year, crossing overland from Montreal. Just east of the Rocky Mountains he passed this train of emigrants, which he records as consisting of "twenty-three families, the heads being generally young and active." They reached Oregon in September and were located north of the Columbia, in the vicinity of the Cowlitz farm of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. A number of them relocated the next year in the Willamette Valley.

The emigration of 1842 consisted of one hundred and nine people, fifty-five of them over eighteen years of age. They started from Independence on the sixteenth of May, with sixteen wagons and a number of cattle. In the train was Dr. Elijah White, who had spent three years in Oregon in connection with the Methodist

Mission. He had now secured an appointment as Indian Agent for the region west of the Rocky Mountains, and was on his way back to the scene of his missionary labors. Alexander and John McKay, sons of Tom. McKay, were also with the party, being homeward bound from a few years of attendance at school in New York State. These three had lived in Oregon, but were not acquainted with the route thither. Judge Columbia Lancaster and his family accompanied them as far as the Kansas River, but he was compelled by the sickness of his wife to abandon the journey and return. A few years later he was more successful and his name is now indelibly stamped upon the pages of Oregon history. Stephen H. Meek, an experienced mountaineer and brother of Col. Jo. Meek, served as guide and general advisor, having trapped for years through the mountains and been in Oregon several times, first with Bonneville and afterwards as an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. F. X. Matthieu, well known in the State, joined the train at Fort Laramie, with three Frenchmen whose names are unknown. Thomas Fitzpatrick, a former partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and one of the most experienced of mountain men, was encountered at Fort Laramie and engaged for \$500 to pilot the train to Fort Hall. At Independence Rock a young man named Bailey was killed by the accidental discharge of a rifle; and L. W. Hastings and A. L. Lovejoy, two names prominent in Oregon history, were captured by Sioux Indians while engaged in carving their names on the face of the rock. They were ransomed by making their captors a present of a few trinkets and pieces of tobacco; and this was what gave rise to the story in after years that Hastings had been bought for a plug of tobacco. At Green River one-half of the wagons were dismantled and used to make pack saddles, since it was deemed too slow and difficult a task to take the whole train further. This event and the subsequent incidents of the journey are thus related by Hon. Medorum Crawford, one of the party:—

Horses, mules and oxen were packed with such clothing, utensils and provisions as were indispensable for our daily wants, and with heavy hearts many articles of comfort and convenience, which had been carefully carried and cared for on the long journey, were left behind. About the middle of August we arrived at Fort Hall, then an important trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. From Captain Grant, his officers and employees, we received such favors and assistance as can only be appreciated by worn-out and destitute emigrants. Here the remaining wagons were left, and our company, no longer attempting to keep up an

organization, divided into small parties, each traveling as fast as their circumstances would permit, following the well-beaten trail of the Hudson's Bay Company to Fort Walla Walla, now Wallula. The small party to which I was attached was one month traveling from Fort Hall to Dr. Whitman's, where we were most hospitably received and supplied with flour and vegetables in abundance, a very acceptable change after subsisting almost entirely on buffalo meat from Laramie to Fort Hall, and on salmon from Fort Hall to Whitman's. In fact there had not been in my mess a mouthful of bread since leaving Laramie. * * * From Walla Walla Dr. White and some others took passage down the Columbia River in the Hudson's Bay Company's boats. Others pursued the journey by land to The Dalles, and there embarked in boats or canoes, and still others, and the larger portion of the emigrants, crossed the Cascade Mountains on the old Indian trail. From Fort Hall to the Willamette no precaution was taken against, or the slightest apprehension felt of Indian hostility, nor were we in any instance molested by them; on the contrary, they furnished us with salmon and game, and rendered us valuable assistance for very trifling rewards. From Walla Walla to the Willamette Falls occupied about twenty days, and all things considered, was the hardest part of the entire journey—what with the drifting sands, rocky cliffs, and rapid streams along the Columbia River, and the gorges, torrents, and thickets of the Cascade Mountains, it seems incredible how, with our worn-out and emaciated animals, we ever reached our destination.

The members of that little train of 1842, such as were then over eighteen years of age, are thus enumerated by Mr. Crawford:—

The following named men over eighteen years of age composed the emigration of 1842: C. T. Arendell, James Brown, William Brown, Gabriel Brown, Barnum, Hugh Burns, Geo. W. Bellamy, Bennett, Bennett, Jr., Bailey (killed), Nathaniel Crocker, Nathan Coombs, Patrick Clark, Alexander Copeland, A. N. Coates, Medorum Crawford, Allen Davy, John Dearn, John Dobbinbess, Samuel Davis, Foster, John Force, James Force, Girtman, Gibbs, L. W. Hastings, J. M. Hudspeath, John Hofstetter, Hardin Jones, A. L. Lovejoy, Reuben Lewis, F. X. Matthieu, S. W. Moss, J. L. Morrison, Stephen Meek, Alex. McKay, John McKay, Walter Pomeroy, Dwight Pomeroy, J. W. Perry, Dutch Paul, J. R. Robb, Owen Summer, T. J. Shadden, Andrew Smith, A. D. Smith, Darling Smith, Adam Storn, Aaron Townner, Joel Turnham, Elijah White, David Weston, Three Frenchmen.

The condition of the valley and the settlers, when these emigrants arrived, is thus delineated by Mr. Crawford:—

On the fifth day of October our little party, tired, ragged and hungry, arrived at the Falls, now Oregon City, where we found the first habitations west of the Cascade Mountains. Here several members of the Methodist Mission were located, and a saw mill was being erected on the island. Our gratification on arriving safely after so long and perilous a journey, was shared by these hospitable people, each of whom seemed anxious to give us hearty welcome and render us every assistance in their power. From the Falls to Vancouver was a trackless wilderness, communication being only by the river in small boats and canoes. Toward Salem no sign of civilization existed until we reached the French Prairie, where a few farms near the river were cultivated by former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. West of the Falls some fifteen miles was Tualitan Plains, where a few settlers, mostly from Red River, had located. Within the present limits of Yamhill County, the only settlers I can remember were Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, James O'Neil, Joseph McLaughlin, — Williams, Louis LaBoute and

George Gay. There may have been one or two more, but I think not. South of George Gay's on the west end of Salem, on the east side of the Willamette River, there were no settlements in the territory.

There were in the valley some twelve or fifteen Methodist Missionaries, most of them having families, under the general superintendence of Rev. Jason Lee. Some of them were living at the Falls, some at Salem, and some at the Mission farm, ten miles below Salem, opposite the place now known as Wheatland. At these places, especially at the Falls and Salem, many improvements were being made, and employment was given at fair wages to all who desired work. Payment was made in lumber and flour from their mills at Salem, cattle and horses from their herds, and orders on the mission stores at the Falls, kept by Hon. George Abernethy. There was no money in the country, and in fact I do not remember seeing a piece of money of any description for more than a year after my arrival. A man's financial condition was based upon his cattle, horses, and credit on the Hudson's Bay Company's or Abernethy's books. With these he could procure everything that was purchaseable in the country. All kinds of tools and implements were scarce and generally of the most primitive character. There were no wagons in the country. Carts of the rudest manufacture were in general use, which among the French were frequently ironed with raw-hide. Ground was plowed with wooden mould-boards, grain was threshed in rail pens by the tramping of horses and cleaned by winnowing in the wind, and transported in canoes and bateaux to Fort Vancouver to market. Most of our clothing came from the Hudson's Bay Company, was all of one size, and said to have been made to fit Dr. McLoughlin, who was a very large man. Boots and shoes were more difficult to be obtained than any other article of clothing; as for myself I had no covering for my feet for two years, either summer or winter, but buckskin moccasins, still I never enjoyed better health in my life.

* * * * *

A number of our company, probably one-third, dissatisfied with the winter and not willing to wait and see what the summer would bring forth—acting on their migratory instincts—determined early in the spring of 1843 to go to California. It was said of some of these that they never remained in one place longer than to obtain the means to travel; and of one family in particular, that they had practically lived in the wagon for more than twenty years, only remaining in one locality long enough to make a crop, which they had done in every State and Territory in the Mississippi Valley. Accordingly, under the lead of L. W. Hastings, they set out as soon as the weather would permit, and, after encountering some difficulty with the Indians, they reached Sacramento Valley. Among this party was Hon. Nathan Coombs, then a mere boy, who afterwards became a large land owner and stock raiser in Napa Valley, and founder of the city of that name. Uncle Tommy Shadden, who is here to-day, was also of that party. In the spring of 1843 those of our party who remained in the country generally located claims in different sections of the Willamette Valley, and laid the foundations for homes they had traveled so far to obtain. These claims were by common consent recognized and respected without other protection than public opinion until the provisional government was established, which provided that non-residents could hold claims by having them recorded and paying five dollars annually into the territorial treasury.

It was in 1842 that the first regular educational institution in Oregon was founded, one which has done noble work for the youth of the coast, and which still flourishes under the management of its founders, the Methodist Episcopal Church. On the seventeenth of

January, 1842, at the call of Rev. Jason Lee, the people assembled at Chemeketa, now North Salem, to consider the question of establishing an educational institution capable of meeting the wants of the growing community. A committee was appointed and the meeting adjourned till the first of February, when it convened in the old mission building which had been erected in 1834. The Oregon Institute was then founded with the following board of trustees: Rev. Jason Lee, Rev. David Leslie, Rev. Gustavus Hines, Rev. J. L. Parrish, Rev. L. H. Judson, Hon. George Abernethy, Alanson Beers, H. Campbell and Dr. J. L. Babcock. A location on French Prairie was first selected, but that place being deficient in pure water, the institute was finally located on Wallace Prairie, two and one-half miles below the present City of Salem. A constitution was adopted on the fifteenth of March, and on the twenty-sixth of October the school was formally placed under the charge of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The emigration of 1842, small though it was and diminished by the migration of several families to California, served to materially strengthen the independent American element. Those who were desirous of organizing a government began again to canvass the subject, the leading spirit being W. H. Gray, who had left his associates—Whitman, Spalding, Eells and Walker—and settled in the Willamette Valley. He gathered a few of the trusty ones at his house to consult upon the best means of getting the people together so as to get a spontaneous action from them before opposing influences could have time to work upon them. A simple but effective plan was devised—one which worked to a charm. Many domestic animals had been destroyed by wild beasts, decimating the small herds of the settlers, and how to prevent such ravages had become a serious question with every settler. It was decided to call a meeting for the ostensible purpose of devising some means for the protection of cattle from the ravages of wild beasts, and notice was accordingly sent throughout the valley for every settler to attend such a meeting at the Oregon Institute on the second day of February, 1843. The attendance was very large, Dr. Babcock occupying the chair. The presiding officer was unaware of the secondary object of the meeting, to the principle of which he was unfavorable. A committee of six was appointed to submit a plan

of operations to an adjourned meeting to be held on the first Monday in March, at the cabin of Joseph Gervais. These two gatherings are generally known among the pioneers as "Wolf meetings." Prior to the second meeting LeBreton and a Mr. Smith quietly canvassed the sentiment of the people on the subject of a more complete government, finding that quite a diversity of opinions prevailed. There was a lyceum which met occasionally at Willamette Falls, before which this question was introduced, and was discussed with great animation. The decision there reached was that a government at that time was inexpedient. A government was advocated by Dr. McLoughlin—one which would be entirely independent of the two nations claiming Oregon. L. W. Hastings, as attorney for the Doctor, introduced the resolution, "That it is expedient for the settlers of the coast to establish an Independent Government," and this was the basis of the discussion. The negative side was taken by George Abernethy and other Americans, the former introducing another resolution for discussion the following week. This was as follows: "*Resolved*, That if the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country within the next four years, it will not be expedient to form an Independent Government." After much earnest discussion this was adopted, and the question was placed at rest, apparently. Dr. White, the Indian Agent, advocated a government, provided he were placed at its head; but the adoption of the last resolution did not seem to offer him a certainty of such a happy consummation. By these discussions the public mind was somewhat prepared for a step of some kind to be taken beyond that of mere protection from wild beasts, and the consequence was that the attendance at the second wolf meeting was even larger than it would otherwise have been. James A. O'Neil, who had been quietly notified of the ulterior purpose of the meeting, was called to the chair, and he carried the proceedings as rapidly as possible over the nominal object of the gathering, full provision being made for the protection of the herds. William H. Gray then arose and made the assembled settlers a little speech. He said that no one would for a moment question the propriety and judiciousness of their action. It was just and natural to thus seek to protect their animals from the ravages of wolves, bears and panthers. Continuing, he said:—

How is it, fellow citizens, with you and me, and our wives and children? Have we any organization on which we can rely for mutual protection? Is there any power or influence in the country sufficient to protect us and all we hold dear from the worse than wild beasts that threaten and occasionally destroy our cattle? Who in our midst is authorized to call us together to protect our own and the lives of our families? True, the alarm may be given, as in a recent case, and we may run who feel alarmed, and shoot off our guns, while our enemy may be robbing our property, ravishing our wives, and burning our houses over our defenseless families. Common sense, prudence and justice to ourselves demand that we act consistent with the principles that we have commenced. We have mutually and unitedly agreed to defend and protect our *cattle and domestic animals*; now, fellow citizens, I submit and move the adoption of the two following resolutions, that we may have protection for our person and lives, as well as our cattle and herds: *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony. *Resolved*, That said committee consist of twelve persons.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and Dr. Babcock, Dr. White, O'Neil, Shortess, Newell, Lucier, Gray, Gervais, Hubbard, M'Roy, Smith and Gay, were appointed to serve on the committee. About two weeks later the committee assembled at the Falls, many other gentlemen being present and participating in their deliberations. Rev. Jason Lee and George Abernethy, as representatives of the Methodist Mission sentiment, made speeches in opposition to the proposed action. Unable to come to a definite decision, the committee called a general meeting to be held at Champoege on the second of May, and then adjourned. A document opposing the proposed action, and styled "An address of the Canadian citizens of Oregon to the meeting at Champoege," was prepared by the anti-American element, and circulated among the Canadian French population for signatures. This element held four meetings to organize an opposition to the movement—one at Vancouver, one at the Falls, and two at Champoege. The Canadians were drilled to vote "No" on all questions, and LeBreton, whose previous affiliation with the Catholic element gave him an opportunity to learn of these plans, advised that some measure be introduced upon which they should properly vote "Yes," to thus throw them into confusion and expose their tactics. The settlers assembled at Champoege in force on the second day of May, and considerable skirmishing was indulged in, the Canadians invariably voting "No" on all questions without reference to the bearing they had upon the interests they represented and becoming much demoralized in consequence. LeBreton, who had made a careful canvass of those in

attendance, finally exclaimed, "We can risk it, let us divide and count!" Gray shouted, "I second the motion!" Jo. Meek then stepped quickly out of the crowd, and raising his voice to a high pitch, shouted, "Who's for a divide? All for the report of the committee and organization, follow me?" The Americans quickly ranged themselves on his side, and a count developed the fact that fifty-two stood in line with him and only fifty on the opposing side. "Three cheers for our side!" exclaimed Meek, and as the responsive cheers rose in the air, the defeated Canadians withdrew and gradually left the victors to conduct the remainder of the proceedings to suit themselves.

The Committee of Twelve then reported in favor of the selection of a Legislative Committee, and this plan was adopted. Messrs. Hill, Shortess, Newell, Beers, Hubbard, Gray, O'Neil, Moore and Dougherty, were selected for the committee, and were instructed to report a plan of government to a meeting to be held at Champoege on the fifth of July. Their session was limited to six days, and their per diem was fixed at \$1.25, which was at once contributed to the Government by the members. Beers, Parrish and Babcock volunteered to provide gratuitously for the board of the committee, and the Mission tendered the free use of its old granary for a council chamber. The committee assembled at the Falls on the tenth of May, in the building mentioned, certainly a most unpretentious structure for the deliberations of a legislature. It was a frame building, 16x30 feet, and one and one-half stories high, the upper portion being used as a sleeping apartment and storage room. The lower story was divided into two compartments, one of them doing duty as a school room and church, and the other as a warehouse for the storage of wheat. Such were the accommodations enjoyed by the first Legislature of Oregon. It was a plain, serviceable structure, and they were plain, matter-of-fact men who had met there to deliberate for the public good. The Legislature opened its session by choosing Robert Moore for Chairman, and George W. LeBreton for Secretary. The question of an executive head for the government was first considered; and this was a matter of considerable delicacy. The interests represented by the various inhabitants of Oregon, as has been shown, were quite distinct, and in some respects, were inclined to clash with each other. To choose an exec-

utive from any one of these was calculated to array the others in either open or covert hostility to the Government. It was finally decided that it would, under the circumstances, be judicious to propose that authority in an Executive Committee of three persons, who should represent the strongest and most desirable interests among the various classes to be included in their jurisdiction. The Legislature adjourned after a session of three days.

On the fifth of July the people again assembled at Champoege to hear the report of the Legislative Committee, the meeting being presided over by Rev. Gustavus Hines. The Canadian citizens who signed the address spoken of above were present in force at the meeting on the second of May and participated in the proceedings, voting against organization, as has been related. Their address was not then presented, but later was placed in the hands of a subcommittee of three to whom the Legislative Committee had delegated the task of arranging the laws passed by them for submission to the meeting now under discussion. After examining it the committee returned it to the Secretary, with instructions to file it among the public documents, as a record of the interests and persons opposed to the organization of a government. At the meeting now being considered many of them were present and took part, expressing themselves as favorably disposed towards the object sought to be obtained by the Americans. Others, however, declined to attend, and asserted that they would not submit to the authority of any government which might be organized. This was also the position assumed by the Catholic Missionaries and the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company, the latter even addressing a communication to the leaders of the organization movement, stating that they felt abundantly able to defend both themselves and their political rights. This was the status of affairs when Mr. Hines announced the meeting as prepared to hear the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was presented by Chairman Moore and read by the Secretary, Mr. LeBreton. The debate which followed was exceedingly animated, Mr. Hines vigorously opposing the three-fold executive head proposed by the committee. Dr. Babcock also opposed it on the ground that it looked too much like a permanent form of government, instead of the temporary makeshift

which he supposed was the object of the gathering. O'Neil and Shortess sustained the report, and Mr. Gray made a forcible, and, as it appears, a convincing, argument in its favor, using the following language:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—The speech which we have just listened to, from our presiding officer (G. H. Hines) is in the main correct. It is true that the Legislative Committee were not instructed to bring before you an executive department in the law and government you proposed to form, when you appointed your committee to prepare these laws. It is also true that when that committee met they found that they could not advance one step in accomplishing the work you instructed them to perform, without some supervising influence somewhere; in short, without a head. Their instructions being against a governor, they have provided an Executive Committee in place of a single man for governor. The executive head is to act in place of a senate council and governor. This provision is before you for your approval or rejection. With the Executive Committee our organization is complete; without it, we have no head; no one to see that our laws are executed, and no one to grant a reprieve or pardon in case the law should be enforced against the life or property of any one for the violation of any law, no matter what the circumstances connected with the real or supposed violation might be.

* * * * *

Now, fellow citizens, let us look calmly at our true situation. We are two thousand five hundred miles from any point from which we can receive the least assistance by land, and seventeen thousand miles by water. A portion of our community are organized and ready to protect themselves, and to defend all their rights and interests. Another organization of a religious character is in our midst—I should say, two. They each have a head or executive. How is it with us? Who is our head in all that pertains to our civil liberty, rights and property? It is possible the gentleman may wish us to remain as unprotected, as helpless and exposed to all the dangers that surround us on every hand as we have heretofore been. If he does, you, fellow citizens, I am sure do not wish to add to his feebleness by destroying the organization you have commenced, because he is afraid of what some Cæsar did in Rome. We are acting for ourselves and those immediately dependent upon us for protection. In union there is strength. I believe you are fully satisfied your committee acted honorably, and, as they thought, for the good of all they represented. If such is the case, you will approve of their acts, and our organization will be complete as they have prepared it for this meeting.

A vote was then taken, which resulted in an almost unanimous adoption of the report. The next thing in order was the election of the necessary officers. Alanson Beers, David Hill and Joseph Gale were chosen for the Executive Committee, and thus the first regular government in Oregon was provided. That this was a movement purely American, and the government of a temporary character only, is attested by the preamble to the laws adopted, which states that:—

We, the people of Oregon Territory, for the purpose of mutual protection, and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws

and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us.

The following certificate was issued to the Executive Committee as a warrant of office:—

This certifies that David Hill, Alanson Beers and Joseph Gale, were chosen the Executive Committee of the Territory of Oregon, by the people of said Territory, and have taken the oath for the faithful performance of the duties of their offices, as required by law.

GEORGE W. LEBRETON, *Recorder*.

WALLA WET, OREGON TERRITORY, July 5, 1843.

Says Mr. Thornton, in speaking of the place where these proceedings were taken:—

It may not be quite uninteresting to say that the State House in which all this was done was in several respects different from that in which laws are made at Washington City. The Oregon State House was built with posts set upright, one end set in the ground, grooved on two sides, and filled in with poles and split timber, such as would be suitable for fence rails, with plates and poles across the top. Rafters and horizontal poles, instead of iron ribs, held the cedar bark which was used instead of thick copper for roofing. It was twenty by forty feet, and did not therefore cover three acres and a half. At one end some puncheons were put up for a platform for the President; some poles and slabs were placed around for seats; three planks about one foot wide and twelve feet long, placed upon a sort of stake platform for a table, were all that was believed to be necessary for the use of the Legislative Committee and the clerks. It is due to the people who met to approve or disapprove of the acts of that committee, to say that perfect order and decorum characterized all the proceedings of July 5th, 1843.

The following officers, chosen at the meeting on the second of May, were continued in office until the election of their successors on the second Tuesday in May, 1844, at which time, also, a Legislative Committee of nine was to be chosen: A. E. Wilson, Supreme Judge; G. W. LeBreton, Clerk and Recorder; J. L. Meek, Sheriff; W. H. Willson, Treasurer; A. B. Smith, — Compo, L. H. Judson and Hugh Burns, Magistrates; Squire Ebbetts, F. X. Matthieu and Reuben Lewis, Constables; John Howard, Major; S. Smith, C. McRoy and William McCarty, Captains.

Having thus related the steps taken for the organization of a government, it is in order to consider the great immigration of 1843, which arrived a few weeks later, and created such a preponderance of American sentiment that the stability of the Provisional Government was assured. There were, however, a few incidents which occurred prior to that great era in Oregon history, whose effect upon the subsequent events was extremely marked, and thus renders them of comparative importance. These relate to in-

cidents growing out of the intense competition of the opposing missionaries for spiritual control of the natives. In 1841 the Catholics made proselytes of the Cascades Indians, who had formerly been under the influence of the Methodist Mission at The Dalles, completely winning them away from Mr. Waller. This greatly intensified the existing bitterness between the religious factions. The Catholics were rapidly growing in power and influence, the Methodists were as rapidly declining, and the missions of the American Board were making but feeble progress. Aside from the ascendancy gradually being acquired by the Catholics, there was one peculiar reason why the Protestant missionaries lost favor with the Indians; and this was their affiliation with the American settlers, who were regarded by the natives as intruders. They did not want white people to settle here and take possession of the land over which they and their fathers had ruled for years. This feeling led the Nez Perce chief Ellis, in 1840, to forbid A. B. Smith to cultivate a patch of ground on the Alpowa. The Hudson's Bay Company encouraged the idea among the Indians that the missions were but stepping-stones to American occupation, and this idea was supported by the conduct of those in charge of the Methodist mission in the Willamette, which had become the general headquarters for American settlers, as well as the energetic and prominent part taken by Dr. Whitman in bringing immigrants into Oregon. The fur company had been here for years, and had not only not taken their lands, but had supplied them with a market for their furs and horses; yet the Americans, who were but newcomers, were already taking away their lands, and more arrived yearly. The outgrowth of this was a feeling of bitterness against the Americans and the Protestant missionaries, in which neither the Hudson's Bay Company nor the Catholics were included; and this feeling intensified from year to year. It was manifested in 1841 by insulting and threatening conduct towards the missionaries both at Waiilatpu and Lapwai, and in 1842 this became so threatening that an effort was made to check it. Dr. Elijah White, whose arrival that fall with authority as an Indian Agent has been noted, paid a visit to the Nez Percés in November, accompanied by Thomas McKay and Mr. Archibald McKinlay, agent at Fort Walla Walla. A treaty was concluded, and the tribe adopted a system of laws, in which the

general principles of right and justice were embodied in a form suitable to their customs and condition. The same laws were adopted by the Wascopums, at The Dalles, but nothing was accomplished with the Cayuses. The next year Baptiste Dorion, a half-breed interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company, upon his own responsibility, circulated the story that the Americans were coming up in the summer to take their lands. This created great excitement among the tribes along the base of the Blue Mountains, and the young braves wanted to go to the Willamette at once and exterminate the settlers. They were held in check by the older ones, while Peo-peo-mux-mux, the great Walla Walla chief, went to Vancouver to investigate. He was informed by Dr. McLoughlin that he did not believe the Americans entertained such an idea, and his report to the tribes allayed the excitement to a certain extent. Dr. White went up in April to hold a council with the Cayuses, and they adopted the Nez Perce laws, electing Five Crows, who lived on the Umatilla not far from the site of Pendleton, as head chief. The result of this was to restore the feeling of security for a time. Several French Canadians were to have accompanied Dr. White, but were advised to remain at home by Dr. McLoughlin. This action of the Chief Factor has been severely censured and has served as an argument to prove that the Hudson's Bay Company was stirring up the Indians to drive the Americans from the country. The American settlers had but a few days before unanimously signed a memorial to Congress, in which Dr. McLoughlin was severely censured. About this time, also, Father Demers arrived from the interior and informed him that the Indians were only incensed against the Boston people, and had nothing against the French and King George people; but they were determined the Bostons should not have their lands and take away their liberties. Learning that his people were in no danger, and smarting under the undeserved charges in the memorial, it is not at all unnatural that he should say: "Let the Americans take care of themselves." It was thus matters stood when the great immigration of 1843 arrived, demonstrating to the Indians that their fears were far from groundless.

CHAPTER XVI.

DR. WHITMAN AND THE EMIGRATION OF 1843.

What Induced the Emigration of 1843—Steps Taken to Organize the Movement—Dr. Whitman's Character—His anxiety to Americanize Oregon—The Ashburton Treaty and the Cod Fishery—Whitman's Decision to Visit Washington—The Wailaptu Meeting—The Unfortunate Controversy over the Services of Dr. Whitman—Gray's Walla Walla Romance—Its Absurdity Pointed Out—The Facts—Whitman and Lovejoy's Journey—Extent of Whitman's Influence in Inducing Emigration—His Visit to Washington and Boston—Organization and Journey of the Emigrants—List of Emigrants and Population of Oregon in 1843—Fremont's Exploring Party.

IN nearly all previous writings upon this subject the emigration of 1843 has been considered from the wrong end—from the Oregon end—the destination of the emigrants, instead of the Mississippi Valley, their starting point. It should be viewed from the place where the movement had its inception, to obtain a correct and adequate understanding of the subject. The great emigration to Oregon that year was the result of causes which had been at work for a number of years, and was not a hasty and ill-considered action of people suddenly aroused by the voice of one man, as it has too often been represented.

With the diplomatic negotiations which terminated in a treaty of joint occupation; with the efforts of Hall J. Kelley and others to induce emigration to Oregon, and with the struggle made by Bonnevillie, Wyeth and others to enjoy practically the theoretical benefits of the compromise treaty, the previous pages have dealt at length. All these had a tendency to turn the attention of the people towards this far-off land, and especially of those hardy, self-reliant and adventuresome men who were then building up those

powerful States which lie in the Valley of the Mississippi. They received better, more direct and more reliable information of the character and accessibility of Oregon than did the residents of the Atlantic slope, whose ideas of this region were largely formed from the depreciatory writings of English authors. As has before been said, Irving's "Astoria" and "Bonneville," Dr. Parker's book, the letter written in 1839 by Robert Shortess, Congressional reports and debates, and other brief publications had given those who cared to read them pretty correct ideas of Oregon. The trappers who had in person visited this region in some of their numerous journeys through the mountainous West, or had learned them from the lips of such of their companions as had done so, sang the praises of Oregon's mild climate and the beautiful Valley of the Willamette, along the whole frontier. Oregon became a familiar word in St. Louis and throughout the region bordering on the Mississippi and tributary to that great center of the fur trade. The "Oregon Bills" introduced into Congress in the fall of 1842 by Senator Linn, of Missouri, have been referred to, as well as their consignment to temporary oblivion by his death the following year. These attracted much attention along the frontier, and hundreds who had previously been deterred from following their inclination to emigrate to this land of dispute, becoming convinced that it was the intention of the Government to assert in earnest its claim to this region, and that the bill donating to each emigrant one section of land would be passed, resolved to make the hazardous journey. Said one of these, Gen. E. L. Applegate, in a recent speech:—

This proposition deeply touched the heart of the western pioneer. He had probably crossed the Blue Ridge or the Cumberland Mountains when a boy, and was now in his prime. Rugged, hardy and powerful of frame, he was full of overflowing with the love of adventure, and animated by a brave soul that scorned the very idea of fear. All had heard of the perpetually green hills and plains of Western Oregon, and how that the warm breath of the vast Pacific tempered the air to the genial degree and drove winter far back towards the north. Many of them contrasted in the imagination the open stretch of a mile square of rich, green and grassy land, where the strawberry plant bloomed through every winter month, with their circumscribed clearings in the Missouri Bottom. Of long winter evenings neighbors visited each other, and before the big shell-bark hickory fire, the seasoned walnut fire, the dry black jack fire, or the roaring dead elm fire, they talked these things over; and, as a natural consequence, under these favorable circumstances, the spirit of emigration warmed up; and the "Oregon fever" became as a household expression. Thus originated the vast cavalcade, or emigrant train, stretching its serpentine length for miles, enveloped in the vast pillars of dust, patiently

wending its toilsome way across the American Continent. How familiar these scenes and experiences with the old pioneers! The vast plains; the uncountable herds of buffalo; the swift-footed antelope; the bands of mounted, painted warriors; the rugged snow-capped mountain ranges; the deep, swift and dangerous rivers; the lonesome howl of the wild wolf; the midnight yell of the assaulting savage; the awful panic and stampede; the solemn and silent funeral at the dead hour of night, and the lonely and hidden graves of departed friends—what memories are associated with the "plains across!"

The first united effort was a meeting held in Alton, Ill., on the eighth of November, 1842, at which were passed resolutions urging the importance of a speedy occupation of Oregon. These resolutions were introduced by General Semple, a prominent citizen of that State who had taken great interest in this region, and were supported by him in an eloquent speech. Another meeting was held at Springfield, the State Capital, on the fifth of the following February, which was participated in by many distinguished men of Illinois, and similar resolutions were passed. One of those present was the gifted and eloquent Col. E. D. Baker, who afterwards became a United States Senator from Oregon, and, strange to say, he was one of two gentlemen who spoke in opposition to the resolutions. The following July, several weeks after the emigration had taken up its toilsome march, "a Convention of Delegates from the States and Territories of the West and Southwest" assembled in Cincinnati, and passed resolutions urging Congress to assert the claim of the United States as far north as "fifty-four-forty" immediately. How this became a political question the following year, will be made clear in the next chapter.

In these various ways quite an interest was stirred up in the Mississippi States, during the winter, and it became generally understood, and was so announced by the few papers printed along the border, that a large emigration would start for Oregon the following spring, rendezvousing at Independence, Missouri.

It is now that Dr. Whitman appears upon the scene, and to explain his sudden entré it is necessary to relate incidents occurring in Oregon the summer and fall previous. Although, for geographical reasons, he did not participate in the various efforts of the settlers in the Willamette Valley to form a Provisional Government, his heart was in the movement. He was the most keenly alive to the necessities of the hour, and more watchful of the true interests of the Americans than even the most prominent actors in the govern-

mental agitation. He was a true American, jealous of his country's honor and zealous to promote her interests. His faith in the future—the American future—of Oregon was unbounded, and his mind penetrated the misty veil with prophetic power. As early as 1838 an incident occurred which revealed his abiding faith in the destiny of Oregon. Dr. William C. McKay relates an anecdote which is of importance to show Whitman's ideas on this subject at that early day. His father, Thomas McKay, decided to send him to Scotland to be educated, and with this end in view they started up the Columbia. Whitman and McKay being warm friends, they decided to spend a few days at Waiilatpu, where they were to separate, William to accompany the annual Montreal express by the Manitoba route, and his father to proceed to Fort Hall, where he was the company's agent. Dr. Whitman urged McKay to send his son to the United States to be educated. "Make an American of him," said he, "for this country will surely belong to the Americans." McKay was convinced, and William's route was changed from Manitoba to the Fort Hall trail. He went to Fairfield, N. Y., and entered the same school at which Dr. Whitman was educated, returning to Oregon a few years later as a medical practitioner. Several other incidents, the details of which it is needless to relate, confirm the statement that the Doctor was a true, zealous, watchful and energetic guardian of American interests in Oregon.

When Governor Simpson visited this region in the fall of 1841, followed a few days later by the immigrants from Red River, whose arrival has been previously noted, Dr. Whitman, with his acute perceptive qualities, in a measure defined the intentions of the company. He realized with the convincing force of a revelation, that nothing but a great and unexpected influx of American immigrants could thwart the deep-laid plans of the great corporation. He became restless and anxious. It seemed to him that it was necessary for some one to return to the States and arouse the people and the Government to the exigencies of the hour. Procrastination was dangerous and supine inaction was fatal; yet his missionary work was a charge upon his mind which could not be lightly shaken off. When the immigration of 1842 arrived, as has been related, many of them camped for a time in the vicinity of the mission. Among these was A. Lawrence Lovejoy, with whom Whitman frequently

and earnestly conversed on the subject of Oregon and events and opinions in the East affecting it. He learned that Lord Ashburton, an ambassador of Great Britain, was even then in Washington negotiating for a settlement of the boundary line between Canada and the United States; and naturally supposing that in this the Oregon Question was involved, he became convinced that it was his duty to proceed to Washington with all dispatch possible, and enlighten the Government upon the subject, knowing full well that the value of this magnificent region was not in the least realized by the authorities or the people generally. It has been frequently stated that the Government was considering a proposition made by Lord Ashburton to abandon all claim to Oregon, in consideration of certain fishing privileges on the Atlantic coast of British America, and that this intelligence was conveyed to Whitman by Lovejoy. How this took its rise it is impossible to ascertain, as all efforts to trace it to a source have been futile. Lovejoy does not say so in his account of these events; no one has testified that Whitman ever made such an assertion, and it seems utterly without foundation. The records of the State Department do not disclose any such negotiations; they were publically and emphatically denied by Daniel Webster, through whom, as Secretary of State, the negotiations were conducted, and, finally, the Oregon Question was not included in the negotiations at all, which had sole reference to the unsettled boundary line further east. To be sure it is now claimed—and it was not so at first—that this portion of the negotiations was secret and confidential; but if such was the case it becomes still more incumbent upon those who make the assertion to produce some kind of evidence which will weigh against the positive denial of one of the principal actors. No such evidence has ever been produced, and it rests solely upon unsupported assertion. It is evident that the cod fishery episode, with all the changes that have been rung upon it by dramatically disposed writers and enthusiastic speakers, is utterly without foundation.

As it was, however, Whitman decided that his duty to his country was paramount to his duty to the American Board, and he determined to return East. About this time, probably at the hands of the emigrants, Whitman received notice from the Board that it had decided to discontinue the missions, which were very expensive

and were making unsatisfactory progress, and though this, probably, had something to do with his determination to go East, his conduct while there shows this consideration to have been a secondary one. He summoned his associates from the Lapwai and Tshimakain missions, to consult in regard to the matter. Spalding, Gray, Eells and Walker promptly responded to the call, and when the Doctor laid before them the plan he had formed, they opposed it unanimously. To their objection that politics should not be permitted to interfere with missionary work, he replied that his first duty was to his country, and if necessary to choose between the two he would resign his mission. Knowing his inflexible character and deep convictions of duty, they dared no longer oppose him for fear of losing the master spirit of their mission. Says Mr. Eells: "We yielded only when it became evident that he would go, even if he had to become disconnected with the mission in order to do so." Whitman was accordingly officially delegated to proceed to Boston to transact business pertaining to the missions, and the various missionaries departed to their several stations to prepare reports and letters for him to take, the date of his departure being fixed at the fifth of October. This was done in order to conceal the real object of such an unprecedented undertaking—a winter journey across the mountains. An official record of this meeting was kept, upon the face of which appeared only the proceedings which had reference to missionary work. This was destroyed at the time of the Whitman Massacre, but its loss is immaterial, except that it would determine the date of the meeting. As to the nature of the proceedings, there is sufficient reliable oral testimony to settle that beyond dispute. Mr. Eells, whose word no one who knew him would ever question, says the meeting was held in September. He adds: "After an extended discussion, it was voted unanimously that Dr. Whitman have the approval of the mission to attempt to make the journey as hereinbefore indicated. The controlling object was to make a desperate attempt to save the country to the United States. It was also expected that the opportunity would be improved for the transaction of business relating to the mission. The fifth of the following October was set as the day on which Dr. Whitman would start. Letters were to be prepared and forwarded accord-

ingly. Probably events transpiring in the intervening time hastened his departure, so that he left on the third of October."

This feature of Oregon history has been the subject of much literary controversy. No one can have read the preceding pages without having become convinced of the sterling integrity, firmness of purpose and energy of action of Dr. Whitman. His character and services to the American cause entitle him to the first place among those whose memory the citizens of Oregon should ever revere, and whom all true Americans should honor; yet zealous friends have in their eagerness to place laurels on his brow, claimed for him more than he ever would have sanctioned or permitted had he not fallen before the treacherous blows of ungrateful savages. In their zeal they have allowed their imaginations to take too lofty flights and have wandered too far into the realms of romance. That most of these have been absolutely sincere, their sympathies, perhaps, being somewhat too deeply stirred by denominational influences, is beyond question; yet so much can not be said of the author of the questionable story upon which has been laid the foundation of their claims, who, apparently, was actuated by the desire to shine in the reflected light which would naturally fall upon him as an associate with the martyred missionary in his early labors among the Indians. In this he overshot the mark, and drew down upon himself the vigorous criticism of those who, wishing not to in the least detract from the just merits of Dr. Whitman, earnestly desired that the actual facts only should find a place in recorded history. It is to be regretted that certain writers have been led by their disbelief in this romance to take the negative throughout, and not only deny Dr. Whitman any honor whatever, but even accuse him of deceitful, treacherous and selfish conduct. Such writers are open to the same charge of prejudice and unfairness which they lay at the door of the author of this unfortunate controversy. Well might Dr. Whitman exclaim—with others whose reputation has been jeopardized by mistaken zeal—"Save me from my friends." The controversy has not been without its benefits. It has settled beyond dispute in the minds of those who have given the subject a just and careful consideration, the permanent and exalted position Dr. Whitman must ever occupy in the annals of Oregon. To establish this the romance was unnecessary, yet as it has been widely circulated, and

finds a place in a number of historical sketches and ostensible histories of Oregon, it becomes necessary to relate it, together with the few simple, undeniable facts which refute it. This romance was not the production of Mr. Eells. That gentleman never unchained his fancy when relating facts. He would not undertake the hazardous feat of reproducing the exact language used by several people in a conversation occurring thirty years before, at which he was not present, and with the bare substance of which he could alone be acquainted. That such was attempted indicates how little the necessity of adhering to the exact facts weighed upon the mind of the author of the romance. It was first given to the world in Gray's "History of Oregon," published a number of years ago by William H. Gray, whose intense Americanism and bitter antagonism to the Hudson's Bay Company led him to take the prominent and leading part we have just seen he acted in the organization of the Provisional Government, and which, becoming intensified and more firmly settled as the years rolled by, rendered him incompetent to form an unprejudiced opinion or do justice to those to whom he was instinctively opposed. The work referred to contains the following paragraph:—

In September, 1842, Dr. Whitman was called to visit a patient at old Fort Walla Walla. While there a number of boats of the Hudson's Bay Company, with several chief traders and Jesuit priests, on their way to the interior of the country, arrived. While at dinner, the overland express from Canada arrived, bringing news that the emigration from the Red River settlement was at Colville. This news excited universal joy among the guests. One of them, a young priest, sang out: "Hurrah for Oregon, America is too late; we have got the country!" "Now the Americans may whistle; the country is ours!" said another. Whitman learned that the company had arranged for these Red River English settlers to come on to settle in Oregon, and at the same time Governor Simpson was to go to Washington and secure the settlement of the question as to the boundaries, on the ground of the most numerous and permanent settlement in the country. The Doctor was taunted with the idea that no power could prevent this result, as no information could reach Washington in time to prevent it. "*It shall be prevented,*" said the Doctor, "*if I have to go to Washington myself.*" "But you can not go there to do it," was the taunting reply of the Briton. "*I will see,*" was the Doctor's reply. The reader is sufficiently acquainted with the history of this man's toil and labor in bringing his first wagon through to Fort Boise, to understand what he meant when he said, "*I will see.*" Two hours after this conversation at the fort, he dismounted from his horse at his door at Wallatpu. I saw in a moment that he was fixed on some important object or errand. He soon explained that a special effort must be made to save the country from becoming British territory. Everything was in the best of order about the station, and there seemed to be no important reason why he should not go. A. L. Lovejoy, Esq., had a few days before arrived with the immigration.

It was proposed that he should accompany the Doctor, which he consented to do, and in twenty-four hours' time they were well mounted and on their way to the States.

Though its melodramatic style at once stamps it as a piece of fiction, it is as well to point out the certain evidences of its inaccuracy. First—The Red River emigration came in the year before, as has already been related, and there were no emigrants from that region in 1842. Second—Archibald McKinlay, the gentleman in charge of Fort Walla Walla and a warm personal friend of Dr. Whitman, not only indignantly denies the imputation that he would permit him to be thus insulted while his guest, but states that there was no one at the fort at the time of the visit referred to except the half dozen regular attachés, and that the Montreal express did not arrive until two weeks after Whitman's departure for the East, during which time Mrs. Whitman was a guest at the fort, proceeding to Vancouver under the protection of the express brigade. Third—Whitman's resolution to go East, as has been amply shown above, was not a suddenly conceived one, as Gray asserts, but was the result of long consideration and deliberate decision, the exact day having been fixed for his departure prior to this visit to Walla Walla, as Gray must have known, since he had participated in the meeting at Waiilatpu. No news had come overland from the East except such as the American emigrants had brought, and of this Whitman was thoroughly informed before he went to Walla Walla. To meet this objection the adherents to Gray's version have of late dropped the Canada express, and put the intelligence which created such a scene of joy in the mouths of the brigade referred to as going up the river; but they omit to state from what source this party derived its gratifying information. Some of them are also equally as reckless as the author of the fiction in the line of attempting to relate the exact language employed by Whitman and the enthusiastic Briton. It is needless to remark that they all succeed in placing different words in the mouths of the principal actors in the scene portrayed. Let us return to the domain of facts. Whitman did pay a visit to Fort Walla Walla, his object in doing so being variously stated by persons then at Waiilatpu. Some say that he went as a physician to render professional service to a sick person; but Dr. Geiger, who, at the request of Whitman, had consented to

remain in charge of the mission during the Doctor's absence in the East, states that it was to interview his friend McKinlay in regard to the situation. Nothing remarkable occurred, but the visit whetted Whitman's anxiety to depart, and as the papers from Lapwai and Tshimikain had been received, he decided to start at once and not wait until the day previously decided upon, thus saving two days at the beginning of his journey. On the third of October, 1842, Whitman and Lovejoy turned their backs upon Oregon and entered boldly upon a journey they knew would be attended with hardships and suffering such as they had never before experienced. The only records of this memorable journey are a letter by Mr. Lovejoy detailing the incidents of the trip across the mountains, and detached and fragmentary statements by several gentlemen who claim to have conversed with Whitman on the subject, by emigrants who saw him in the train in 1843, and by several parties who saw him in the East, at St. Louis, Washington and Boston. From the noble martyr himself there comes no word, save a letter written while at St. Louis the following spring, which incontestably establishes the fact that he was doing his utmost to promote a large emigration and to be of personal assistance to the emigrants. From these are gleaned the following facts, ones which no reasonable person will dispute. Of that memorable journey Lovejoy's letter says:—

We left Wallatpu October 3, 1842, traveled rapidly, reached Fort Hall in eleven days, remained two days to recruit and make a few purchases. The Doctor engaged a guide and we left for Fort Wintee. We changed from a direct route to one more southern, through the Spanish country via Salt Lake, Taos and Santa Fe. On our way from Fort Hall to Fort Wintee we had terribly severe weather. The snows retarded our progress and blinded the trail so we lost much time. After arriving at Fort Wintee and making some purchases for our trip, we took a new guide and started for Fort Uncumpagna, situated on the waters of Grand River, in the Spanish country. Here our stay was very short. We took a new guide and started for Taos. After being out some four or five days we encountered a terrific snow storm, which forced us to take shelter in a deep ravine, where we remained snowed in for four days, at which time the storm had somewhat abated, and we attempted to make our way out upon high lands, but the snow was so deep and the winds so piercing and cold we were compelled to return to camp and wait a few days for a change of weather. Our next effort to reach the high lands was more successful; but after spending several days wandering around in the snow without making much headway, our guide told us that the deep snow had so changed the face of the country that he was completely lost and could take us no further. This was a terrible blow to the Doctor, but he was determined not to give it up without another effort. We at once agreed that the Doctor should take the guide and return to Fort Uncumpagna and get a new guide, and I remain in camp with the animals until he could return; which he did in seven days with our new guide, and we were now on our route

again. Nothing of much import occurred but hard and slow traveling through deep snow until we reached Grand River, which was frozen on either side about one-third across. Although so intensely cold, the current was so very rapid about one-third of the river in the center was not frozen. Our guide thought it would be dangerous to attempt to cross the river in its present condition, but the Doctor, nothing daunted, was the first to take the water. He mounted his horse; the guide and myself shoved the Doctor and his horse off the ice into the foaming stream. Away he went, completely under water, horse and all, but directly came up, and after buffeting the rapid, foaming current, he reached the ice on the opposite shore, a long way down the stream. He leaped from his horse upon the ice and soon had his noble animal by his side. The guide and myself forced in the pack animals and followed the Doctor's example, and were soon on the opposite shore drying our frozen clothes by a comfortable fire. We reached Taos in about thirty days, suffering greatly from cold and scarcity of provisions. We were compelled to use mule meat, dogs, and such other animals as came in our reach. We remained at Taos a few days only, and started for Bent's and Savery's Fort, on the head waters of the Arkansas River. When we had been out some fifteen or twenty days, we met George Bent, a brother of Governor Bent, on his way to Taos. He told us that a party of mountain men would leave Bent's Fort in a few days for St. Louis, but said we would not reach the fort with our pack animals in time to join the party. The Doctor being very anxious to join the party so he could push on as rapidly as possible to Washington, concluded to leave myself and the guide with the animals, and he himself taking the best animal with some bedding and a small allowance of provisions, started alone, hoping by rapid traveling to reach the fort in time to join the St. Louis party, but to do so he would have to travel on the Sabbath, something he had not done before. Myself and the guide traveled on slowly, and reached the fort in four days, but imagine our astonishment when on making inquiry about the Doctor we were told that he had not arrived nor had he been heard of. I learned that the party for St. Louis was camped at the Big Cottonwood, forty miles from the fort, and at my request Mr. Savery sent an express, telling the party not to proceed any further until we learned something of Dr. Whitman's whereabouts, as he wished to accompany them to St. Louis. Being furnished by the gentlemen of the fort with a suitable guide I started in search of the Doctor, and traveled up the river about one hundred miles. I learned from the Indians that a man had been there who was lost and was trying to find Bent's Fort. They said they had directed him to go down the river and how to find the fort. I knew from their description it was the Doctor. I returned to the fort as rapidly as possible, but the Doctor had not arrived. We had all become very anxious about him. Late in the afternoon he came in very much fatigued and desponding; said that he knew that God had bewildered him to punish him for traveling on the Sabbath. During the whole trip he was very regular in his morning and evening devotions, and that was the only time I ever knew him to travel on the Sabbath.

Whitman at once pushed on with the mountaineers, leaving Lovejoy at Bent's Fort, and reached St. Louis in February. There he inquired eagerly about the status of negotiations on the Oregon Question, and learned that the Ashburton-Webster treaty had been signed on the ninth of the preceding August, been ratified by the Senate, and had been proclaimed by the President on the tenth of November. He was too late by more than three months to have prevented the treaty; but his journey was not in vain, for the

Oregon boundary had not been included in the treaty, had not even been discussed, in fact, as appears from Mr. Webster's speeches and correspondence. This intelligence brought relief to the Doctor's overwrought feelings. There was still an opportunity for him to accomplish his purpose. He found great preparations being made all along the frontier to emigrate to the Willamette Valley, as has been previously shown, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion that wagons could not proceed beyond Fort Hall. He immediately wrote a small pamphlet describing Oregon and the nature of the route thither, urging the people to emigrate and assuring them that wagons could go through, and that he would join them and be their pilot. This pamphlet and his earnest personal appeals were efficacious in adding somewhat to the number of emigrants, though it is a fact that probably the greater portion of those who started from the border of Missouri in May never heard of Dr. Whitman until he joined them on the route. That Whitman's efforts added somewhat to the number of emigrants is true, but that he initiated the movement, or even contributed largely to it, does not appear. He was too late for that; the movement was well under way before his arrival.

After writing his pamphlet his next anxiety was to reach Washington before Congress adjourned, so that he might have an opportunity to meet Congressmen and urge upon them the claims of Oregon. He did not undertake to change his apparel, which is thus described by Dr. William Barrows, who met him in St. Louis: "The Doctor was in coarse fur garments and vesting, and buckskin breeches. He wore a buffalo coat, with a head-hood for emergencies in taking a storm or a bivouac nap. What with heavy fur leggings and boot moccasins, his legs filled up well his Mexican stirrups. With all this warmth and almost burden of skin and fur clothing, he bore the marks of the irresistible cold and merciless storms of his journey. His fingers, ears, nose and feet had been frost-bitten, and were giving him much trouble."

Such was Whitman in St. Louis, and such was he on the third of March when he appeared in Washington, having previously visited Ithica, New York, to obtain the co-operation of Dr. Samuel Parker, his first missionary associate, and still later in Boston, where he treated the rebukes of the officials of the American Board with

a quiet contempt that astonished them. He found the ideas of Oregon prevailing at Washington to be far different from those existing on the frontier. Public men possessed but a faint idea of the extent and nature of the vast area beyond the Rocky Mountains, deeming it a region of sterile soil and inhospitable climate. Since Lewis and Clarke had subsisted upon dog meat, and Hunt's party had endured such terrible privations in passing through it, the country lying between the Cascades and Rocky Mountains had been known as the "Great American Desert," and deemed fit only for the abode of migratory trappers and famine-afflicted savages. A year later, during a discussion of the Oregon Question in Congress, a speaker advanced this idea in the following language: "With the exception of the land along the Willamette and along a few of the water courses, the whole country is among the most irreclaimable, barren wastes of which we have read, except the desert of Sahara. Nor is this the worst of it—the climate is so unfriendly to human life that the native population has dwindled away under the ravages of its malaria to a degree which defies all history to furnish a parallel in so wide a range of country." To demonstrate the error of this idea, and that Oregon could be populated by emigration from the East, was Whitman's task. He had numerous interviews with public men, including President Tyler and Secretary Webster, in which he urged upon them the importance of securing as much of that indefinite region known as "Oregon" as possible, declaring that, so far was it from being a sterile waste, its agricultural and timber resources were unbounded. He called their attention to the large emigration already preparing, and confidently declared that he was able to, and would, guide them through by a route over which wagons could travel to the Willamette. His earnest protestations made a deep impression upon many, especially President Tyler, and he was assured that if he could thus demonstrate the practicability of colonizing Oregon by emigration across the Rocky Mountains, it would have a powerful effect upon the solution of the vexed Oregon Question. The same writers, whose tendency toward romancing has been pointed out above, have allowed their imaginations too much liberty in their relation of the incidents connected with Whitman's visit to Washington. Nothing more is known of what occurred there than the crude facts just re-

lated; and yet these writers undertake to state the exact language employed by Dr. Whitman, President Tyler, Secretary Webster, and others. Those words were never recorded, nor do these writers lay claim to direct information from the men who uttered them, and common regard for the purity of historical statements should cause them to refrain from any such clairvoyant efforts.

When Whitman had accomplished the main object of his journey at Washington, he proceeded to Boston to attend to the official business which had been the ostensible cause of his visit. This was so unimportant that the officers of the Board rebuked him for leaving his mission upon such a trivial pretext; but he shamed them into silence by treating their officious chidings with lofty contempt. He then proceeded to his home, and, after spending a few days there, hastened to the frontier to join the emigrants, some of whom had already started and whom he did not overtake until they had reached the Platte, his appearance among them at that time being the first knowledge a majority of them had that such a man as Dr. Whitman was in existence. The circumstances attending the final starting of the emigrants, are thus related by Gen. J. W. Nesmith:—

Without orders from any quarter, and without preconcert, promptly as the grass began to start, the emigrants began to assemble near Independence, at a place called Fitzhugh's Mill. On the seventeenth day of May, 1843, notices were circulated through the different encampments that on the succeeding day, those who contemplated emigrating to Oregon, would meet at a designated point to organize. Promptly at the appointed hour the motley groups assembled. They consisted of people from all the States and Territories, and nearly all nationalities; the most, however, from Arkansas, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, and all strangers to one another, but impressed with some crude idea that there existed an imperative necessity for some kind of an organization for mutual protection against the hostile Indians inhabiting the great unknown wilderness stretching away to the shores of the Pacific, and which they were about to traverse with their wives and children, household goods, and all their earthly possessions.

Many of the emigrants were from the western tier of counties of Missouri, known as the Platte Purchase, and among them was Peter H. Burnett, a former merchant, who had abandoned the yard-stick and become a lawyer of some celebrity for his ability as a smooth-tongued advocate. He subsequently emigrated to California, and was elected the first Governor of the Golden State, was afterward Chief Justice, and still an honored resident of that State. Mr. Burnett, or as he was familiarly designated, "Pete," was called upon for a speech. Mounting a log, the glib-tongued orator delivered a glowing, florid address. He commenced by showing his audience that the then western tier of States and Territories was overcrowded with a redundant population, who had not sufficient elbow room for the expansion of their enterprise and genius, and it was a duty they owed to themselves and posterity to strike out in search of a more expanded field and more genial climate, where the soil yielded the richest return for the slightest amount of

cultivation, where the trees were loaded with perennial fruit, and where a good substitute for bread, called *La Camash*, grew in the ground, salmon and other fish crowded the streams, and where the principal labor of the settler would be confined to keeping their gardens free from the inroads of buffalo, elk, deer and wild turkeys. He appealed to our patriotism by picturing forth the glorious empire we would establish on the shores of the Pacific. How, with our trusty rifles, we would drive out the British usurpers who claimed the soil, and defend the country from the avarice and pretensions of the British lion, and how posterity would honor us for placing the fairest portion of our land under the dominion of the stars and stripes. He concluded with a slight allusion to the trials and hardships incident to the trip, and dangers to be encountered from hostile Indians on the route, and those inhabiting the country whither we were bound. He furthermore intimated a desire to look upon the tribe of noble "red men" that the valliant and well-armed crowd around him could not vanquish in a single encounter.

Other speeches were made, full of glowing descriptions of the fair land of promise, the far-away Oregon, which no one in the assemblage had ever seen, and of which not more than half a dozen had ever read any account. After the election of Mr. Burnett as captain, and other necessary officers, the meeting, as motley and primitive a one as ever assembled, adjourned, with "three cheers" for Captain Burnett and Oregon. On the 29th day of May, 1843, after a pretty thorough military organization, we took up our line of march, with Captain John Gantt, an old army officer, who combined the character of trapper and mountaineer, as our guide. Gantt had in his wanderings been as far as Green River, and assured us of the practicability of a wagon road thus far. Green River, the extent of our guide's knowledge in that direction, was not half-way to the Willamette Valley, the then only inhabited portion of Oregon. Beyond that we had not the slightest conjecture of the condition of the country. We went forth trusting to the future, and would doubtless have encountered more difficulties than we experienced had not Dr. Whitman overtaken us before we reached the terminus of our guide's knowledge. He was familiar with the whole route and was confident that wagons could pass through the canyons and gorges of Snake River and over the Blue Mountains, which the mountaineers in the vicinity of Fort Hall declared to be a physical impossibility.

Captain Grant, then in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Hall, endeavored to dissuade us from proceeding further with our wagons, and showed us the wagons that the emigrants of the preceding year had abandoned, as an evidence of the impracticability of our determination. Dr. Whitman was persistent in his assertions that wagons could proceed as far as the Grand Dalles of the Columbia River, from which point he asserted they could be taken down by rafts or batteaux to the Willamette Valley, while our stock could be driven by an Indian trail over the Cascade Mountains, near Mount Hood. Happily Whitman's advice prevailed, and a large number of the wagons with a portion of the stock, did reach Walla Walla and The Dalles, from which points they were taken to the Willamette the following year. Had we followed Grant's advice and abandoned the cattle and wagons at Fort Hall, much suffering must have ensued, as a sufficient number of horses to carry the women and children of the party could not have been obtained, besides wagons and cattle were indispensable to men expecting to live by farming in a country destitute of such articles.

At Fort Hall we fell in with some Cayuse and Nez Perce Indians returning from the buffalo country, and as it was necessary for Dr. Whitman to precede us to Walla Walla, he recommended to us a guide in the person of an old Cayuse Indian called "Sticcus." He was a faithful old fellow, perfectly familiar with all the trails and topography of the country from Fort Hall to The Dalles, and although not

speaking a word of English, and no one in our party a word of Cayuse, he succeeded by pantomime in taking us over the roughest wagon route I ever saw.

This is a glowing tribute to the energy, determination and patriotic zeal of the one man to whom is due the honor of clearly demonstrating to the world the often-denied fact that there was a practicable route into Oregon for the white-topped wagon of the emigrant. A score of other intelligent gentlemen have testified to the same effect, but it is obviously unnecessary to give more than a bare mention of the fact.

The following list contains the names of every male member of that great train over the age of sixteen years. It was prepared by J. W. Nesmith when the train was organized, and was preserved among his papers for a third of a century before given for publication. All reached the Willamette Valley, except a few, the exceptions being designated by marks and foot notes:—

Applegate, Jesse	Boardman, —*	Dorin, Jacob	Fowler, Henry
Applegate, Charles	Baldrige, Wm.	Davis, Thomas	Fairly, Stephen
Applegate, Lindsay	Cason, F. C.	Delany, Daniel	Fendall, Charles
Athey, James	Cason, James	Delany, Daniel, Jr.	Gantt, John*
Athey, William	Chapman, Wm.	Delany, William	Gray, Chiley B.
Atkinson, John*	Cox, John	Doke, William	Garrison, Enoch
Arthur, Wm.	Champ, Jacob	Davis, J. H.	Garrison, J. W.
Arthur, Robert	Cooper, L. C.	Davis, Burrell	Garrison, W. J.
Arthur, David	Cone, James	Dalley, George	Gardner, Samuel
Butler, Anon	Childers, Moses	Doherty, John	Gardner, Wm.
Brooke, George	Carey, Miles	Dawson, —*	Gilmore, Mat,
Burnett, Peter H.	Cochran, Thomas	Eaton, Charles	Goodman, Richard
Bird, David	Clymour, L.	Eaton, Nathan	Gilpin, Major
Brown, Thomas A.	Copenhaver, John	Etchell, James	Gray, —
Blevins, Alexander	Caton, J. H.	Emerick, Solomon	Haggard, B.
Brooks, John P.	Chappel, Alfred	Eaker, John W.	Hide, H. H.
Brown, Martin	Cronin, Daniel	Edson, E. G.	Holmes, Wm.
Brown, Oris	Cozine, Samuel	Eyres, Miles†	Holmes, Riley A.
Black, J. P.	Costable, Benedict	East, John W.	Hobson, John
Bane, Layton	Childs, Joseph*	Everman, Ninlwon	Hobson, Wm.
Baker, Andrew	Clark, Ransom	Ford, Nineveh	Hembree, Andrew
Baker, John G.	Campbell, John G.	Ford, Ephriam	Hembree, J. J.
Beagle, William	Chapman, —	Ford, Nimrod	Hembree, James
Boyd, Levy	Chase, James	Ford, John	Hembree, A. J.
Baker, William	Dodd, Solomon	Francis, Alexander†	Hall, Samuel B.
Biddle, Nicholas†	Dement, Wm. C.	Frazier, Abner	Houk, James
Beale, George	Dougherty, W. P.	Frazier, Wm.	Hughes, Wm. P.
Braldy, James	Day, William†	Fowler, Wm.	Hendrick, Abijah
Beadle, George	Duncan, James	Fowler, Wm. J.	Hays, James

* Turned off at Fort Hall and went to California.

† Died on the route.

‡ Turned back at the Platte.

Hensley, Thomas J.*	Lauderdale, John	Otie, M. B.	Stevenson, —
Holley, B.	McGee, —*	O'Neill, Bennett	Story, James
Hunt, Henry	Martin, Wm. J.*	Olinger, A.	Swift, —
Holderness, S. M.	Martin, James	Parker, Jesse	Shively, John M.
Hutchins, Isaac	Martin, Julius*	Parker, William	Shirly, Samuel
Husted, A.	McClelland, —*	Pennington, J. B.	Stoughton, Alex.
Hess, Joseph	McClelland, F.*	Poe, R. H.	Spencer, Chancey
Haun, Jacob	Mills, John B.	Paynter, Samuel	Strait, Hiram
Howell, John	Mills, Isaac	Patterson, J. R.	Summers, George
Howell, Wm.	Mills, Wm. A.	Pickett, Charles E.	Stringer, Cornelius
Howell, Wesley	Mills, Owen	Prigg, Frederick	Stringer, C. W.†
Howell, G. W.	McGarey, G. W.	Paine, Clayborn†	Tharp, Lindsey
Howell, Thomas E.	Mondon, Gilbert	Reading, P. B.*	Thompson, John
Hill, Henry	Matheny, Daniel	Rodgers, S. P.	Trainor, D.
Hill, William	Matheny, Adam	Rodgers, G. W.	Teller, Jeremiah
Hill, Almorán	Matheny, J. N.	Russell, William	Tarbox, Stephen
Hewett Henry	Matheny, Josiah	Roberts, James	Umnicker, John
Hargrove, Wm.	Matheny, Henry	Rice, G. W.	Vance, Samuel
Hoyt, A.	Mastire, A. J.	Richardson, John	Vaughn, William
Holman, John	McHaley, John	Richardson, Daniel†	Vernon, George
Holman, Daniel	Myers, Jacob	Ruby, Philip	Wilmont, James
Harrigas, B.	Manning, John	Ricord, John	Wilson, Wm. H.
James, Calvin	Manning, James	Reid, Jacob	Wair, J. W.
Jackson, John B.	McCarver, M. M.	Roe, John	Winkle, Archibald
Jones, John	McCorcle, George	Roberts, Solomon	Williams, Edward
Johnson, Overton	Mays, William	Roberts, Emseley	Wheeler, H.
Keyser, Thomas	Millican, Elijah	Rossin, Joseph	Wagoner, John
Keyser, J. B.	McDaniel, William	Rivers, Thomas	Williams, Benjamin
Keyser, Plasant	McKissic, D.	Smith, Thomas H.	Williams, David
Kelley, —	Malone, Madison	Smith, Thomas	Wilson, Wm.
Kelsey, —	McClane, John B.	Smith, Isaac W.	Williams, John*
Lovejoy, A. L.	Mauzee, William	Smith, Anderson	Williams, James*
Lenox, Edward	McIntire, John*	Smith, Ahl	Williams, Squire*
Lenox, E.	Moore, Jackson†	Smith, Robert	Williams, Isaac*
Layson, Aaron	Matney, W. J.	Smith, Eli	Ward, T. B.
Looney, Jesse	Nesmith, J. W.	Sheldon, William	White, James
Long, John E.	Newby, W. T.	Stewart, P. G.	Watson, Jno. (Betty)
Lee, H. A. G.	Newman, Noah	Sutton, Dr. Nathan†	Waters, James
Lugur, F.†	Naylor, Thomas	Stimmerman, C.	Winter, Wm.
Linebarger, Lew	Osborn, Neil	Sharp, C.	Waldo, Daniel
Linebarger, John	O'Brien, Hugh D.	Summers, W. C.	Waldo, David
Laswell, Isaac	O'Brien, Humphrey	Sewell, Henry	Waldo, William
Loughborough, J.†	Owen, Thomas A.	Stout, Henry	Zachary, Alexander
Little, Milton*	Owen, Thomas	Sterling, George	Zachary, John
Luther, —	Otie, E. W.	Stout, —	

There were in Oregon at the time the train arrived, the following individuals, a few names, possibly, having been omitted from the list:—

* Turned off at Fort Hall and went to California.

† Died on the route.

‡ Turned back at the Platte.

Armstrong, Pleasant	Ebbetts, Squire	LeBreton, G. W.	Russell, Osborn
Burns, Hugh	Edwards, John	Larrison, Jack	Robb, J. R.
Brown, —	Foster, Phillip	Meek, Joseph L.	Shortess, Robert
Brown, William	Force, John	Matthieu, F. X.	Smith, Sidney
Brown, —	Force, James	McClure, John	Smith, —
Black, J. M.	Fletcher, Francis	Moss, S. W.	Smith, Andrew
Baldro, —	Gay, George	Moore, Robert	Smith, Andrew, Jr.
Balis, James	Gale Joseph	McFadden, —	Smith, Darling
Bailey, Dr.	Girtman, —	McCarty, William	Spence, —
Brainard, —	Hathaway, Felix	McKay, Charles	Sallor, Jack
Crawford, Medorem	Hatch, Peter H.	McKay, Thomas	Turnham, Joel
Carter, David	Hubbard, Thomas J.	McKay, William C.	Turner, John
Campbell, Samuel	Hewitt, Adam	Morrison, —	Taylor, Hiram
Campbell, Jack	Horegon, Jeremiah	Mack, J. W.	Tibbetts, Calvin
Craig, Wm.	Holman, Joseph	Newbanks, —	Trask, —
Cook, Amos	Hall, David	Newell, Robert	Walker, C. M.
Cook, Aaron	Hoxhurst, Weberly	O'Neil, James A.	Warner, Jack
Connor, —	Hutchinson, —	Pettygrove, F. W.	Wilson, A. E.
Cannon, William	Johnson, William	Pomeroy, Dwight	Winslow, David
Davy, Allen	Klug, —	Pomeroy, Walter	Wilkins, Caleb
Doty, William	Kelsey, —	Perry, —	Wood, Henry
Eakin, Richard	Lewis, Reuben	Rimmick, —	Williams, B.

In addition to the above were the following gentlemen connected with the various Protestant missions:—

Abernethy, George	Eells, C.	Leslie, David	Waller, A. F.
Babcock, Dr. J. L.	Gray, W. H.	Parrish, J. L.	Walker, E.
Beers, Alanson	Hines, Gustavus	Perkins, H. K. W.	Whitman, Dr. M.
Brewer, —	Judson, L. H.	Raymond, H. W.	White, Dr. Elijah
Campbell, Hamilton	Lee, Jason	Spalding, W. H.	Willson, Wm. H.
Clark, Harvey			

In addition to these were some fifty former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, nearly all of whom had settled on French Prairie, and a number of priests connected with the Catholic mission, making a total male population at the close of the year 1843 of about four hundred and thirty, exclusive of the officers and actual servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Following in the wake of the emigrants came the party of Lieutenant John C. Fremont, who had explored the Rocky Mountains the year before, and who had been this season dispatched by the Government upon an official tour of exploration to the Pacific. After spending a few days at Vancouver, he passed south, crossed the Cascades to Eastern Oregon, continued south into Nevada, and in January, 1844, crossed the snowy summit of the Sierra Nevadas to Sutter's Fort in Sacramento Valley. The title of "Pathfinder" was bestowed upon him, though he was guided nearly everywhere



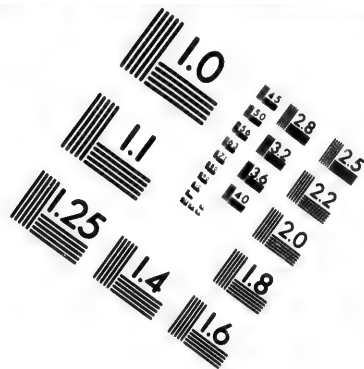
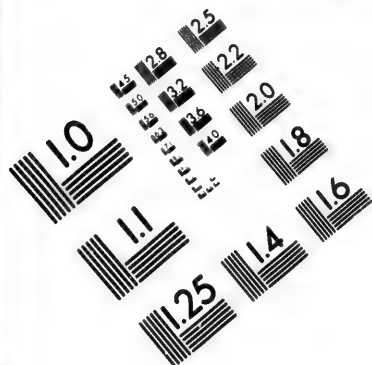
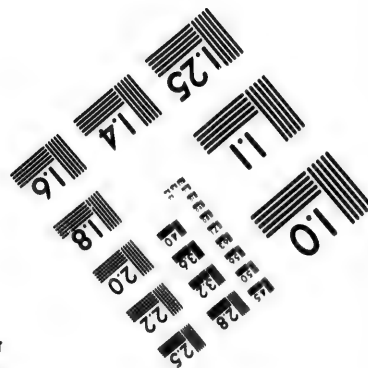
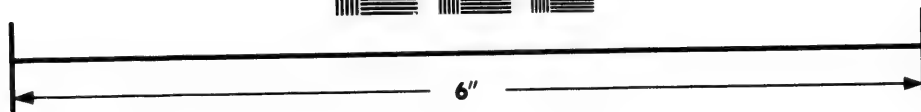
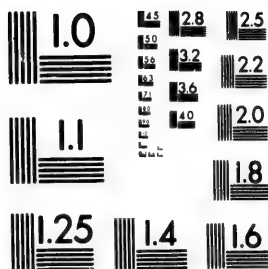


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by mountain men who were familiar with the country, and found the route to Oregon plainly marked by the emigrants' wagon wheels. On this subject Mr. Nesmith says:—

In the Eastern States, I have often been asked how long it was after Fremont discovered Oregon that I emigrated there. It is true that in the year 1843, Fremont, then a Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps, did cross the plains, and brought his party to The Dalles, and visited Vancouver to procure supplies. I saw him on the plains, though he reached The Dalles in the rear of our emigration. His outfit contained all of the conveniences and luxuries that a Government appropriation could procure, while he "roughed it" in a covered carriage, surrounded by servants paid from the public purse. He returned to the States and was afterward rewarded with a Presidential nomination as the "Pathfinder." The path he found was made by the hardy frontiersmen who preceded him to the Pacific, and who stood by their rifles here and held the country against hostile Indians and British threats, without Government aid or recognition until 1849, when the first Government troops came to our relief. Yet Fremont, with many people, has the credit of "finding" everything west of the Rocky Mountains, and I suppose his pretensions will be recognized by the future historian, while the deserving men who made the path, unaided by Government, will be forgotten. "And such is history."

Thus close the events of 1843, leaving Oregon with a Provisional Government and a population of intelligent, earnest, hardy American pioneers sufficiently great to determine its future as a party of the great Republic whose institutions they had thus planted in these remote regions.

CHAPTER XVII.

1844 TO 1849.

Indian Difficulty at Oregon City—First Military Company—Methodist Missions Abandoned—Increase of the Catholic Workers—Election of 1844—Abstract of Votes—Proceedings of the Legislative Committee—Emigration of 1844—List of Emigrants—Election of 1845—George Abernethy Chosen First Governor of Oregon—Abstract of Votes—Oath of Office—Dr. White and the Memorial to Congress—Wheat a Legal Tender—Census of 1845—Emigration of 1845—Meek Takes the Emigrants by a New Route and Loses Them in the Mountains—The Eventful Year of 1846—Mr. Blaine's Account of the Settlement of the Oregon Question—Election of 1846—Emigration of 1846—The Applegate Trail—Flags of the Schooner "Shark"—Emigration of 1847—The Traveling Nursery—Elections of 1847 and 1848—Emigration of 1848.

THERE was trouble in the Willamette Valley in 1844, which served to still more embitter the Indians against the Americans. There was a sub-chief of the Molallas named "Cockstock," a man of independent nature and belligerent disposition. He had a few followers who partook somewhat of his spirit, and they were generally the prime movers in such small hostile acts as the natives of the Willamette indulged in. He was rebellious of restraint, and not friendly to the encroachment of the white settlers. A relative of his having mistreated Mr. Perkins at The Dalles Mission, was sentenced by the Wasco tribe to be punished according to Dr. White's laws. The sub-chief was enraged at the whipping his kinsman had received, and set out to revenge the insult upon the

Indian Agent. Reaching the Agent's Willamette home during his absence, he proceeded to break every window-pane in the house. He was pursued, but not caught, and became an object of terror to the Doctor. All depredations committed in the country were charged to this chief, and it finally resulted in the offer by Dr. White of one hundred dollars' reward for the arrest of the formidable Indian. Learning that he was being accused of acts committed by others, the chief visited Oregon City March 4, accompanied by four of his band, with the avowed purpose of having a talk with the whites for the purpose of exculpating himself. He entered the town, staid for about an hour, and then crossed the river to visit an Indian village to procure an Indian interpreter. He then re-crossed the Willamette, when several men undertook to arrest him, and a desperate fight ensued. Cockstock was killed, and his followers, after fighting valiantly until the odds became too great, made good their escape. On the other side George W. LeBreton was killed by Cockstock, and Mr. Rogers, who was working quietly near by, was wounded in the arm by a poisoned arrow, which caused his death. It has been asserted that the Molalla chief attacked the town, but it requires too much credulity to believe that five Indians would in broad daylight attack a town containing ten times their number. The whole affair is chargeable to the rash conduct of a few men who were too eager to gain the paltry reward offered by Dr. White, one of whom paid for his cupidity with his life. Fearing that trouble might follow, the Executive Committee of the Provisional Government issued a proclamation for the organization of a military company. A company was organized on the tenth of March by citizens who assembled at Champoege. Nineteen names were enrolled; T. D. Keizer being elected Captain, and J. L. Morrison and Mr. F. C. (or James) Cason, Lieutenants. Their services were not required.

In May, 1844, Rev. George Gary arrived by sea to supersede Jason Lee in charge of the Methodist missions, the latter being already on his way East. The mission property was immediately sold and the missionary work, which had amounted to little for several years, so far as accomplishments were concerned, was discontinued, except at The Dalles. While the Methodists were thus withdrawing from the field, the Catholics were largely increasing

their force. Among other arrivals for that purpose were six sisters of the order of Notre Dame, who came to found a convent in the Willamette. Father P. J. DeSmet, who had previously founded a mission among the Flatheads, brought the sisters to Oregon by sea, being also accompanied by four priests and several laymen. Three other priests came overland from St. Louis. As Father Blanchet expresses it: "The schemes of the Protestant ministers had been fought and nearly annihilated, especially at Nesqually, Vancouver, Cascades, Clackamas and Willamette Falls, so that a visitor came in 1844 and disbanded the whole Methodist Mission, and sold its property."

On the fourteenth of May, 1844, an election was held for officers of the Provisional Government, at which some two hundred votes were cast. P. G. Stewart, Osborn Russell and W. J. Bailey were chosen Executive Committee; Dr. J. L. Babcock, Supreme Judge; Dr. John E. Long, Clerk and Recorder; Philip Foster, Treasurer; Joseph L. Meek, Sheriff. The Territory had been partitioned into three Legislative Districts. Tualatin District included what is now Washington, Multnomah, Columbia, Clatsop, Tillamook, Yamhill and Polk Counties. Champoege District has since been divided into Linn, Marion, Lane, Josephine, Coos, Curry, Benton, Douglas and Jackson Counties. In the Clackamas District were Clackamas County and the eastern part of Oregon, a portion of Montana, and all of Idaho and Washington Territories. On the following page are the tabulated returns of this first popular election held in Oregon:—

ELECTION OF MAY 14, 1844.

CANDIDATES.	DISTRICTS.			
	CLACKAMAS.	TUALATIN.	GRAMPSO.	TOTALS.
<i>Executive Committee.</i>				
P. G. Stewart*	41	15	84	140
Osborn Russell*	40	22	182	244
Alanson Beers	21	10	18	49
Jesse Applegate	11			11
Peter H. Burnett	10			10
Hugh Burns	6			6
David Hill	6			6
W. J. Bailey*	3		67	70
William Dougherty	3	23		26
A. Lawrence Lovejoy	2			2
Robert Newell	2	10		12
A. J. Hembree	1			1
William Geiger		7		7
Spencer		7		7
<i>Territorial Recorder or Clerk.</i>				
Dr. John E. Long*	33	26	14	73
O. Johnson	24			24
C. M. Walker	8			8
J. G. Campbell	1			1
A. E. Wilson		2		2
F. X. Matthieu			65	65
<i>Supreme Court Judge.</i>				
James L. Babcock † *			88	88
J. W. Nemith	39			39
Peter H. Burnett	16			16
P. G. Stewart	2			2
Osborn Russell	4	1		5
O. Johnson		2		2
<i>Territorial Treasurer.</i>				
Phil. Foster*	40		8	48
Nineveh Ford	4	6		10
P. H. Hatch	4			4
A. E. Wilson	2			2
John E. Long	1			1
W. C. Remick	1			1
<i>Territorial Sheriff.</i>				
Joseph L. Meek*	64		79	143
B. Harragus	2			2
William Holmes	1			1
<i>Legislative Committee.</i>				
M. Gilmore*		27		27
Peter H. Burnett*		32		32
David Hill*		24		24
M. M. McCarver*		20		20
W. T. Perry		8		8
T. D. Keiser*			67	67
Daniel Waldo*			75	75
Robert Newell*			75	75
W. H. Gray			20	20
W. J. Bailey			11	11
F. C. Cason			18	18
A. Lawrence Lovejoy†				

* Elected.

† Resigned November 11, 1844.

‡ Elected from Clackamas District.

The Legislative Committee elected met at Willamette Falls, in the house of Felix Hathaway, June 18, 1844, and chose M. M. McCarver Speaker. A nine days' session followed, when they adjourned until December of the same year. On the sixteenth of December the Legislative Committee met again, this time at the house of J. E. Long, in Oregon City, when a message was submitted to them from the Executive Committee, in which an amendment of the organic law was recommended. A seven days' session followed, during which an act was passed calling for a committee to frame a constitution. Several acts were framed requiring submission to a popular vote to render them valid, among which was a change from the triumvirate to gubernatorial executive, and from a Legislative Committee to a Legislature, which was adopted by the people.

The emigration of 1844 was nearly as great as that of the previous year, adding some eight hundred to the American population, two hundred and thirty-four of them able-bodied men. "They were," says Hon. John Minto, "self-reliant, determined men; devoted, loyal, bravely-enduring women. They started from different points under different leaders, and never united, but, on the contrary, divided up still more as they traveled, a single man sometimes separating himself from an entire company, under the settled conviction that they were all too contrary for him to keep company with any longer." The main companies had three starting points—one from Independence, one from near the mouth of the Platte, and one from Capler's Landing, twelve miles above St. Joseph. The last was commanded by Cornelius Gilliam, the first by Nathaniel Ford, and the other by Major Thorp. The following nearly correct list was made in later years by Joseph Watt, Willard H. Rees, William M. Case and J. Henry Brown, and read by John Minto in his address before the Pioneer Association in 1877:—

Alderman, —	Bowman, Wm., Jr.	Bayard, Nathan	Crisman, Gabriel
Bird, —	Bowman, Ira	Brown, Adam	Crisman, Wm.
Buzzard, Nathan	Bunton, Elijah	Bonnin, Peter	Chamberlain, Aaron
Burch, Charles	Bunton, Joseph	Crawford, David	Conner, Patrick
Boyd, Robert	Bunton, Wm.	Crawford, Lewis	Crockett, Samuel B.
Black, William	Butch, Charles	Clark, Daniel	Case, Wm. M.
Blakely, —	Bennett, Capt. C.	Clark, Dennis	Clemens, Wm.
Bush, George W.	Bordran, Francis	Clemens, —	Dougherty, —
Boggs, Thomas	Bartrough, Joseph	Cave, James	Doty, —
Bowman, Wm., Sr.	Bray, Wm.	Crisman, Joel	Davenport, James

Dagon, Dr.	Howard, John	Neal, Calvin	Smith, William
Durbin, Daniel	Hunt, James	Neal, Robert	Smith, Noyes
Dupuis, Edward	Humphrey, Norris	Neal, Alex.	Smith, Texas
Emery, C.	Hammer, Jacob	Neal, Peter	Saffron, Henry
Edes, Moses	Higgins, Herman	Nelson, George	Sis, Big
Everman, C.	Higgins Williams	Nelson, Cyrus	Stewart, James
Eades, John	Hibler, George	Nichols, John	Saunders, William
Eades, Abr.	Inyard, John	Nichols, Frank	Shaw, Joshua
Eades, Henry	Inyard, Abr.	Nichols, Benjamin	Shaw, A.C.R. (Sheep)
Eades, Clark	Inyard, Peter	Owless, Ruel	Shaw, Wash.
Eades, Solomon	Johnson, William	Owens, Henry	Shaw, Thomas
Evans, David	Johnson, James	Owens, James	Shaw, B. F.
Evans, N. D.	Johnson, David	Owens, John	Shaw, Capt. Wm.
Eddy, Robert	Johnson, Daniel	Owens, John	Stephens, James
Ellick, John	Johnson, James	Perkins, Joel, Sr.	Sager, —, died on
Fleming, John	Jackson, John	Perkins, Joel, Jr.	the way at Green
Ford, Nathaniel	Jenkins, David	Perkins, John	River.
Ford, Mark	Jenkins, William	Parker, David	Saxton, Charles
Fruit, James	Jenkins, Henry	Priest, —	Snelling, Vincent
Fruit, "Doc."	Kindred, David	Parrot, Joseph	Snelling, Benjamin
Fuller, Jenny	Kindred, Bart	Packwood, S.	Snooks, —
Gilbert, I. N.	Kindred, John	Packwood, T.	Teller, Jerry
Goff, David	Kinney, Daniel	Payne, R. K.	Thornton, Sebrin
Goff, Samuel	Lee, Barton	Prather, William	Thomas, O. S.
Goff, Marion	Lousenaut, John	Prather, Theodore	Thorp, John
Grant, David	Lewis, Charles	Pettie, Eaben	Thorp, Alvin
Gilliam, Mitchell	Morgan, William	Pettie, Amab	Thorp, Theodore
Gilliam, Cornelius	McGruder, Theo.	Rowland, J.	Thorp, Mortimer
Gilliam, Smith	McGruder, Ed.	Robinson, E. (Moun-	Thorp, Milton
Gilliam, William	Minto, John	tain.)	Trues, Cooper Y.
Gilliam, Porter	McDaniel, Joshua	Robinson, T.G. (Fat-	Tucker, Benjamin
Gage, William	McDaniel, Elisha	ty.)	Tucker, Long
Gage, Jesse	McDaniel, Mrs.	Robinson, Ben	Vance, Thos., died
Goodwin, W. H.	McMahan, —	Rees, Willard H.	on the Platte.
Gillespie, —	Martin, Nehemiah	Rice, Parton	Waunch, George
Gerrish, James	McSwain, Samuel	Rice, Mac	Williams, Poe
Gerrish, John	McAllister, James	Rice, (Old Man.)	Williams, —
Gillahan, Martin	Morrison, R. W.	Ramsey, —	Wright, Harrison
Gillahan, William	Moore, Michael	Ramsdell, —	Woodcock, Richard
Gilmore, Charles	Marshall, James, the	Sears, Franklin	Welsh, James
Hinman, Alanson	discoverer of gold	Shelton, Jackson	Walker, James, Sr.
Hedges, A. F.	at Sutter's Mill.	Sebring, William	Walker, James, Jr.
Hutton, Jacob	Moreland, Lafe	Scott, John	Walker, Robert
Hill, Fleming	Mulky, Westley	Scott, Levi	Williamson, Henry
Hawley, J. C.	Mulkey, Luke	Simmons, M. T.	Watt, Joseph
Hoover, Jacob	Murray, —	Springer, —	Warmbough, —
Holt, T.	Mudgett, —	Smith, J. S.	Werner, Thomas
Harper, James	Neal, George	Smith, Charles	
Holman, Joseph	Neal, Attey	Smith, Peter	

The following turned off and went to California :—

Calvin, —	Foster, Joseph	Greenwood, G.	Hitchcock, — and
Flomboy, John	Greenwood, John	Greenwood, Britain	son.

Jackson, — Montgomery, Allen Schallenberger, M. Townsend, Dr.
 Martin, Patrick Montgomery, James Stephens, Captain Scott and Robbin,
 Martin, Dennis Murphy, Martin, and Sullivan, John, and colored men with
 Martin, William five sons. brother. Col. Ford.
 Miller, James

Mrs. Wm. M. Case furnishes the following list of ladies who came in Major Thorp's company:—

Case, Mrs. Wm. M. Higgins, Mrs. Her-Snellings, Mrs. Vin-Horace Holden and
 Eliza, a mulatto girl man cent May, his wife, ar-
 Hammer, Mrs. Jac'b Johnson, Mrs. D. Tucker, Mrs. Benj. rived in April of
 Hannah, Aunt, a ne-Shaw, Mrs. Joshua Thorp, Miss Amanda this year from the
 gress Snelling, Miss Eliza Sandwich Islands.

Of this emigration Michael T. Simmons and a few others located on Puget Sound, making the first American settlement north of the Columbia.

GENERAL ELECTION, JUNE 3, 1845.

The first annual election was held on the third of June, 1845. The following tabular statement will prove interesting and of historical value:—

CANDIDATES.	DISTRICTS.					
	Clackamas.	Tualatin.	Champoeg.	Clatsop.	Yamhill.	Total.
<i>Governor.</i>						
George Abernethy*-----	46	58	51	22	51	228
Osborn Russell-----	22	54	47	-----	7	130
William J. Bailey-----	2	6	60	-----	7	75
A. Lawrence Lovejoy-----	44	5	9	1	12	71
Total vote cast-----	114	123	167	23	77	504
<i>Secretary.</i>						
John E. Long 1*-----	65	70	117	6	25	283
Noyes Smith-----	48	47	53	12	35	195
<i>Treasurer.</i>						
Phil. Foster-----	62	49	47	1	38	197
Francis Ermatinger 2*-----	51	50	118	12	20	251
<i>Judge.</i>						
J. W. Nesmith 3*-----	111	115	168	17	64	473
<i>District-Attorney.</i>						
Marcus Ford 4*-----	100	78	168	10	53	409
<i>Assessor.</i>						
S. W. Moss*-----	53	39	119	-----	5	216
Jacob Reed-----	52	48	48	-----	56	204
<i>Sheriff.</i>						
Joseph L. Meek 5*-----	59	77	111	5	15	267
A. J. Hembree-----	42	43	54	15	61	215

* Officers elected.

1. Deceased. Frederick Prigg appointed to fill vacancy June 26, 1846.

2. Resigned. John H. Couch appointed to vacancy March 4, 1846.

3. Succeeded by Alonzo A. Skinner.

4. Resigned February 4, 1846. W. G. T. Vault appointed to vacancy; he resigned March 10, 1846, and was succeeded by A. L. Lovejoy.

5. Resigned, and was succeeded by H. M. Knighton.

GENERAL ELECTION, JUNE 3, 1855—Continued.

CANDIDATES.	DISTRICTS.					
	Clackamas.	Tualatin.	Champoeg.	Clatsop.	Yamhill.	Total.
<i>Representatives.</i>						
H. A. J. Lee*	99					99
Hiram Straight*	82					82
W. H. Gray*	54					54
C. E. Pickett	50					50
N. Ford	23					23
M. M. McCarver*		51				51
D. Lenox		39				39
D. Hill*		53				53
C. Satton		23				23
V. W. Dawson		22				22
Joseph Gale		43				43
J. W. Smith*		51				51
C. M. Walker		47				47
J. M. Garrison*			128			128
M. G. Foisy*			131			131
Joseph Gervais			68			68
Barton Lee*			90			90
W. H. Willson			49			49
Robert Newell*			79			79
A. Chamberlain			74			74
F. X. Mathieu			14			14
John McClure*				11		11
George Simmons				10		10
Jesse Applegate*					38	38
A. Hendrick*					34	34
S. Smith					31	31
J. Richardson					29	29
R. Clark					10	10
Convention (to frame constitution)						190
No Convention (to frame constitution)						283

* Officers elected.

NOTE—Theophilus McGruder was appointed Recorder December 8, 1846. Wm. G. T'Vault was appointed Postmaster-General of Oregon in December, 1846. G. W. Bell was appointed Auditor.

Two new districts—Yamhill and Clatsop—had been formed out of Tualatin, making five in all. In most of these were held nominating conventions, where, also, were chosen delegates to a general convention at Champoeg. A. L. Lovejoy was the successful aspirant for the gubernatorial nomination, defeating Dr. William J. Bailey, Osborn Russell and George Abernethy. The convention was not satisfactory, and all these gentlemen appeared before the people as candidates. By a combination of the friends of Russell and Abernethy, the latter, who was then in the Sandwich Islands, was elected.

The Legislature chosen assembled at Oregon City, June 24th, elected M. M. McCarver Speaker, and remained in session two weeks. The following oath of office was proposed by Jesse Applegate, in view of the character of the people and their divided allegiance, and was administered to the members:—

OATH OF OFFICE—I do solemnly swear that I will support the organic laws of the Provisional Government of Oregon, so far as the said organic laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States, or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office. So help me God.

The most important business transacted was the drafting of a memorial to Congress, asking for a territorial government, and the framing of a new organic law. On the twenty-eighth of June the memorial was signed by Russell and Stewart, of the Executive Committee (Abernethy not having yet returned), Judge Nesmith, and members of the Legislature. Dr. Elijah White was delegated all the to convey the memorial to Washington. The Legislature then adjourned to await the result of the constitutional election, which was held on the twenty-fifth of July. This resulted in two hundred and fifty-five votes for the new law and only fifty-two for the old. The Legislature again assembled, according to the provisions of the new law, on the fifth of August. It was then that the memorial was placed in the hands of Dr. White for transmission to Congress. After he had departed they became dissatisfied with their messenger, deeming that he intended using it for his personal advancement at Washington, and they sent a courier to overtake him and demand its return. The Doctor received the demand coolly and refused to comply. His answer, which showed how correct was their opinion that he proposed making the memorial serve his personal ends, was as follows:—

AUGUST 17, 1845.

TO THE HON., ETC.:

Gentlemen—Being on my way, and having but a moment to reflect, I have been at much of a loss which of your two resolutions most to respect, or which to obey; but at length have become satisfied that the first was taken most *soberly*, and as it answers my purpose best, I pledge myself to adhere strictly to that. Sincerely wishing you good luck in legislating,

I am, dear sirs, very respectfully yours,

E. WHITE.

This letter, with a statement of the circumstances surrounding it, was sent by another messenger to Washington, and arrived just in time to foil the scheming Doctor's chances for an important

appointment which he was about to receive. Among other acts the Legislature passed a law making wheat a legal tender at market price, owing to the scarcity of a circulating medium. The body adjourned *sine die* on the twentieth of August. On the second of December, the day set for the assembling of the Legislature by the new law, and no election having been held, the same gentlemen again assembled, and organized by electing Robert Newell Speaker. A session of seventeen days was then held, during which Polk and Lewis counties were created, the latter embracing all of Washington Territory west of the Cascades. This had been designated "Vancouver District" the year before, but had not sent a representative to the Legislature. Sheriff Meek, in pursuance of an act of the Legislature, took a census of the population. This did not include those living north of the Columbia or east of the mountains, consequently, except the ninety-one reported for Clatsop, represents only the population of the Willamette Valley. The table, which does not include the immigration of 1845, is as follows:—

CENSUS RETURNS OF OREGON IN 1845.

COUNTIES.	Number of Housekeepers.	No. Heads of Families.	Under 12 years of age.		12 and under 18 years.		18 and under 45 years.		45 and over.		Whole Number		Total Population.
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Clackamas	18	57	69	54	12	15	136	53	15	7	234	129	361
Champoeg	24	85	142	136	45	37	171	114	42	18	400	305	705
Clatsop	17	29	14	18	1	3	42	8	4	1	61	30	91
Tualatin	14	127	115	109	28	24	142	90	26	6	309	229	538
Yamhill	16	109	79	65	31	24	124	57	23	9	257	158	415
Total	89	405	419	382	117	103	615	322	110	41	1259	851	2110

The immigration of 1845 consisted of some three thousand souls, about one-third of whom, under William B. Ide, of Bear Flag notoriety, and guided by Greenwood, the trapper, turned off at Fort Hall and went to California. There has never been prepared a register of the half dozen trains into which it was divided, and it is impossible to give a list of the pioneers of 1845. A few might be mentioned—names familiar in Oregon annals—such as Col. W. G. T'Vault, J. C. Avery, John Waymire, Frederick Waymire, John Flemming, Captain English, James B. Riggs, Rufus A. Riggs,

Stephen Staats, John Durbin, William J. Herren, General Joel Palmer, Simeon Smith, David Carson, John M. Forrest, Dr. Ralph Wilcox, Solomon Fetherous, James Allen. They brought the cheering intelligence that James K. Polk had been elected President of the United States on the party cry of "Fifty-four-forty, or fight," and had been duly inaugurated, and that the prospects for an immediate favorable settlement of the mooted Oregon Question were favorable. Their numbers, too, added so materially to the strength of the American element that they then outnumbered the representatives of Great Britain ten to one.

When the emigrants reached Fort Boise, Stephen H. Meek, the same man who had served as guide in 1842, offered to show a shorter and easier route across the Blue and Cascade mountains—one to the south of the old trail. A great many of them followed him, while others refused to depart from the regular route. Meek had never passed through the country he was now entering, but had heard of it from others when he had, as a free American trapper, been for a time in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. The route had never been used, but it was known that the country through what is now Southeastern Oregon, was less mountainous than that further north, and Meek naturally expected to find a passable route and a good pass through the Cascades. In this he failed, and as soon as the emigrants became satisfied that he was traveling by guess, they became so indignant that he only saved his neck by using his feet. They then undertook to pass down John Day River, and finally reached the Columbia after almost superhuman exertion. Had they trusted to Meek it is possible, and even probable, that he would, by taking them further south, have found them a comparatively easy route. This episode is thus described by Hon. Stephen Staats, one of the immigrants of that year:—

When nearing Fort Boise, much discussion was had relative to the route to be followed after leaving that point. Stephen Meek had met the emigrants and proposed to pilot them over a new route by which to bring them into the valley, asserting that it was much shorter and better than the route to The Dalles. I recollect one old gentleman, John M. Forrest by name, who, when the subject was warmly discussed, declared he would follow the old route, even if he had to travel alone. Says he: "When I left the States, after reading the letters of Burnett and others from Oregon, I determined I would not be led off on any new route claimed to have been discovered by any adventurer, but would travel where others had traveled,

and thus be sure of arriving at the desired point to which we are all looking." But now the time had come for action. One morning, after a night spent in spirited discussion, Mr. Forrest broke camp and started on the old trail; others, with much warmth, attempted to restrain him, but he persisted, and about twenty-five other wagons followed him; others, under the leadership of Meek, struck off on the route declared by him the best and shortest; but well would it have been for all those so doing, had they persevered in following the old route, for experience proved to them that had they so done, much suffering, in almost every conceivable form, would have been avoided, and that they would have arrived at their destination much sooner and their condition more hopeful as to future resources to provide for their wants during the approaching winter.

It was but a few days after Meek left Fort Boise, that he became hopelessly lost, and had it not been for the good judgment and determined energy of some of the emigrants, and their hiring an Indian to pilot them through to The Dalles, many would have perished and suffered a most torturing death, that now survive and to-day can recount the many sad incidents and afflictive events of their wearisome travel to that point. It has been positively asserted that while Meek was thus lost, he suffered to such an extent for the want of water to satisfy his thirst, that he opened a vein in the neck of his mule, and thus, in all probability, secured his own life by quaffing the life blood of that most noble and docile quadruped. But be that as it may, whether true or not, there were moments when the sufferings of husband, wife and children, became so unbearable, and so intensely torturing to the mental vision of those having others depending upon them for support and protection, that had he who counseled them to take an unknown and trackless route when almost out of provisions, and energies already nearly exhausted, made his appearance among them, he might have been made a sacrifice to appease the angry passions with which they were inflamed.

The anti-Hudson's Bay Company fanatics absurdly charge that Meek was employed by the company to lead this train of emigrants to their destruction in the mountains, the only evidence being the fact that Meek—as did also a number of Americans who were known as "free trappers," men who were somewhat independent of the fur traders—had engaged himself for two or three seasons to the company. The charge is too ridiculous to be considered.

The year 1846 was a momentous one for the United States. It saw the settling of the Oregon Question, which confirmed to the United States all that portion of Montana lying west of the Rocky Mountains, Idaho, Oregon and Washington. It saw, also, the beginning of the Mexican War, which gave us Texas, and the wresting of California from Mexican rule by Lieutenant Fremont and Commodores Sloat and Stockton. It was an exciting period, and the country was held in suspense for months over the controversy with England, during which war with that great power seemed almost unavoidable. The incidents attending the settlement of this great question are clearly and graphically described by

James G. Blaine in his "Twenty Years of Congress," in which he displays a profundity of knowledge of the political intricacies of that period which carries the weight of authority with his language. To improve upon it would be impossible, and to epitomize it would destroy its force and perspicuity; nothing but a complete and liberal quotation will suffice. Mr. Blaine says:—

The convention which nominated Mr. Polk took ground for the immediate re-annexation of Texas and re-occupation of Oregon. This peculiar form of expression was used to indicate that Texas had already belonged to us under the Louisiana purchase, and that Oregon had been wholly ours prior to the treaty of joint occupancy with Great Britain. It further declared, that our title to the whole of Oregon, up to 54° 40' north latitude, was "clear and indisputable"; thus carrying our claim to the borders of the Russian possessions, and utterly denying and defying the pretension of Great Britain to the ownership of any territory bordering on the Pacific.

The election of Mr. Polk was an unquestionable verdict from the people in favor of the annexation of Texas. Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren had been able to defeat the treaty negotiated by Mr. Calhoun; but the popular vote overruled them, and pronounced in favor of the Democratic position after full and fair hearing. Mr. Tyler was anxious that the scheme so energetically initiated by him should be fully accomplished during his term. The short method of joint resolution was therefore devised by the ever fertile brain of Mr. Calhoun, and its passage through Congress intrusted to the skillful management of Robert J. Walker, then a senator from Mississippi, and already indicated for the portfolio of the Treasury in the new administration. Mr. Polk was in consultation with Mr. Tyler during the closing weeks of the latter's administration, and the annexation by joint resolution had his full concurrence. It was passed in season to receive the approval of President Tyler on the first day of March, three days before the eventful administration of Mr. Polk was installed in power. Its terms were promptly accepted by Texas, and at the next session of Congress, beginning December, 1845, the constitution of the new State was approved. Historic interest attached to the appearance of Sam Houston and Thomas J. Rusk as the first senators from the great State which they had torn from Mexico and added to the Union.

The policy of maintaining an equality of slave States with free States was to be pursued, as it had already been from the foundation of the government, with unceasing vigilance and untiring energy. The balancing of forces between new States added to the Union had been so skillfully arranged, that for a long period two States were admitted at nearly the same time—one from the South, and one from the North. Thus Kentucky and Vermont, Tennessee and Ohio, Mississippi and Indiana, Alabama and Illinois, Missouri and Maine, Arkansas and Michigan, Florida and Iowa, came into the Union in pairs, not indeed at precisely the same moment in every case, but always with reference each to the other in the order named. On the admission of Florida and Iowa, Colonel Benton remarked that "It seemed strange that two territories so different in age, so distant from each other, so antagonistic in natural features and political institutions, should ripen into States at the same time, and come into the Union by a single Act; but these very antagonisms—that is, the antagonistic provisions on the subject of slavery—made the conjunction, and gave to the two young States an inseparable admission."

During the entire period from the formation of the Federal Government to the inauguration of Mr. Polk, the only variation from this twin birth of States—the one free, the other slave—was in the case of Louisiana, which was admitted in 1812, with no corresponding State from the North. Of the original Thirteen States, seven had become free, and six maintained slavery. Of the fifteen that were added to the Union, prior to the annexation of Texas, eight were slave, and seven were free; so that when Mr. Polk took the oath of office, the Union consisted of twenty-eight States, equally divided between slave-holding and free. So nice an adjustment had certainly required constant watchfulness and the closest calculation of political forces. It was in pursuit of this adjustment that the admission of Louisiana was secured, as an evident compensation for the loss which had accrued to the slave-holding interests in the unequal though voluntary partition of the Old Thirteen between North and South.

* * * * *

Looking into the future, the Southern men took alarm lest the equality of their section should be lost in the Senate, and their long control of the Federal Government ended. Even with Texas added to the Union, this equality was barely maintained, for Wisconsin was already seeking admission; and the clause in the articles of annexation providing that four new States might be carved out of the territory of Texas whenever she asked it, gave no promise of speedy help to the South. Its operation would, in any event, be distant, and subject to contingencies which could not be accurately measured. There was not another foot of territory south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, save that which was devoted to the Indians by solemn compact, from which another slave State could be formed. North of $36^{\circ} 30'$ the Missouri Compromise had dedicated the entire country to freedom. In extent it was, to the Southern view, alarmingly great, including at least a million square miles of territory. Except along its river boundaries it was little known. Its value was underrated, and a large portion was designated upon our maps as the Great American Desert. At the time Texas was annexed, and for several years afterwards, not a single foot of that vast area was organized under any form of civil government. Had the Southern statesmen foreseen the immense wealth, population, and value of this imperial domain in the five great States and four territories into which it is to-day divided, they would have abandoned the struggle for equality. But the most that was hoped, even in the North, within any near period, was one State north of Iowa, one west of Missouri, and one from the Oregon country. The remainder, in the popular judgment, was divided among mountain gorges, the arid plains of the middle, and the uninviting region in the north, which the French *voyageurs* had classed under the comprehensive and significant title of *mauvaises terres*. With only three States anticipated from the great area in the north-west, it was the evident expectation of the Southern men who then had control of the government, that, if war with Mexico should ensue, the result would inevitably be the acquisition of sufficient territory to form slave States south of the line of the Missouri Compromise as rapidly as free States could be formed north of it; and that in this way the ancient equality between North and South could be maintained.

* * * * *

The Oregon Question, which now became associated, if not complicated, with the Texas Question, originated many years before. By our treaty with Spain in 1819, the southern boundary of our possessions on the Pacific had been accurately defined. Our northern boundary was still unadjusted, and had been matter of dispute with Great Britain ever since we acquired the country. By the treaty of October 20, 1818, the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude was established as the boundary between the United States and British America, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains, as the Rocky Mountains were then termed. In the same

treaty it was agreed that any country claimed by either the United States or Great Britain westward of the Stony Mountains should, with its harbors, bays, and rivers, be open for the term of ten years to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of either power. This agreement was entered into solely for the purpose of preventing disputes pending final settlement, and was not to be construed to the prejudice of either party. This was the beginning of the joint occupancy of the Oregon country, England having with prompt and characteristic enterprise forced her way across the continent after she had acquired Canada in 1763. Stimulated by certain alleged discoveries of her navigators on the north-west coast, Great Britain urged and maintained her title to a frontage on the Pacific, and made a bold claim to sovereignty as far south as the mouth of the Columbia River, nearly, indeed, to the northern border of California.

Nothing had been done towards an adjustment during the ten years of joint occupancy, and when the term was about to expire, the arrangement was renewed by special convention in 1827, for an indefinite period—each power reserving the right to terminate the convention by giving twelve-months' notice to the other. The President, John Quincy Adams, made the briefest possible reference to the subject in his message to Congress, December, 1827; speaking of it as a temporary compromise of the respective rights and claims of Great Britain and the United States to territory westward of the Rocky Mountains. For many years thereafter, the subject, though languidly pursued in our diplomatic correspondence, was not alluded to in a President's message, or discussed in Congress. The contracting parties rested content with the power to join issue and try titles at any time by simply giving the required notice. The subject was also overshadowed by more urgent disputes between Great Britain and the United States, especially that relating to the North-eastern boundary, and that touching the suppression of the African slave-trade. The latter involved the old question of the right of search. The two governments came to an agreement on these differences in 1842 by the negotiation of the convention known as the Ashburton Treaty. In transmitting the treaty to Congress, President Tyler made, for the first time since the agreement for a joint occupancy was renewed in 1827, a specific reference to the Oregon Question. He informed Congress, that the territory of the United States commonly called the Oregon country was beginning to attract the attention of our fellow-citizens, and that "the tide of our population, having reclaimed from the wilderness the more contiguous regions, was preparing to flow over those vast districts which stretch from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean;" that Great Britain "laid claim to a portion of the country and that the question could not be well included in the recent treaty without postponing other more pressing matters." He significantly added, that though the difficulty might not for several years involve the peace of the two countries, yet he should urge upon Great Britain the importance of its early settlement.

As this paragraph was undoubtedly suggested and probably written by Mr. Webster, it attracted wide attention on both sides of the Atlantic; and from that moment, in varying degrees of interest and urgency, the Oregon Question became an active political issue. Before the next annual meeting of Congress, Mr. Upshur had succeeded Mr. Webster in the State Department; and the message of the President took still more advanced ground respecting Oregon. For political reasons, there was an obvious desire to keep the action of the government on this issue well abreast of its aggressive movements in the matter of acquiring Texas. Emboldened by Mr. Webster's position of the preceding year, Mr. Upshur, with younger blood, and with more reason for a demonstrative course, was evidently disposed to force the discussion of the question with British Government. Under his influence and advice, President Tyler declared, in his message of December, 1843, that "after the

most rigid, and, as far as practicable, unbiased, examination of the subject, the United States have always contended that their rights appertain to the entire region of country lying on the Pacific, and embraced between latitude 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$." Mr. Edward Everett, at that time our minister in London, was instructed to present these views to the British Government.

Before the President could send another annual message to Congress, Mr. Calhoun had been for several months at the head of the State Department, engaged in promoting, with singular skill and ability, his scheme for the annexation of Texas. With his quick perception, he discerned that if the policy apparently indicated by Mr. Webster and aggressively proclaimed by Mr. Upshur, on the Oregon Question, should be followed, and that issue sharply pressed upon Great Britain, complications of a most embarrassing nature might arise, involving in their sweep the plans, already well matured, for acquiring Texas. In order to avert all danger of that kind, Mr. Calhoun opened a negotiation with the British minister in Washington, conducting it himself, for the settlement of the Oregon Question; and at the very moment when the Democratic National Convention which nominated Mr. Polk was declaring our title to the whole of Oregon as far as $54^{\circ} 40'$ to be "clear and unquestionable," the Democratic Secretary of State was proposing to Her Majesty's representative to settle the entire controversy by the adoption of the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary!

The negotiation was very nearly completed, and was suspended only by some dispute in regard to the right of navigating the Columbia River. It is not improbable that Mr. Calhoun, after disclosing to the British Government his willingness to accept the forty-ninth parallel as our northern boundary, was anxious to have the negotiation temporarily postponed. If the treaty had been concluded at that time, it would have seriously interfered with the success of Mr. Polk's candidacy by destroying the prestige of the "Fifty-four forties," as Colonel Benton termed them. In Mr. Polk's election, Mr. Calhoun was deeply and indeed doubly interested: first, because of his earnest desire to defeat Mr. Clay, with whom he was at swords' points on all public issues; and again, because having assumed the responsibility of defeating the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, he was naturally desirous that his judgment should be vindicated by the election of the candidate whom his Southern friends had put forward. Urgently solicitous for the annexation of Texas, those friends were indifferent to the fate of the Oregon Question, though willing that it should be made a leading issue in the North, where it was presented with popular effect. The patriotic spirit of the country was appealed to, and to a considerable extent aroused and inflamed by the ardent and energetic declaration of our title to the whole of Oregon. "Fifty-four forty or fight" became a Democratic watchword; and the Whigs who attempted to argue against the extravagance or inexpediency of the claim continually lost ground, and were branded as cowards who were awed into silence by the fear of British power. All the prejudice against the British Government which had descended from the Revolution and from the war of 1812 was successfully evoked by the Democratic party, and they gained immeasurably by keeping a measure before the people which many of their leaders knew would be abandoned when the pressure of actual negotiation should be felt by our government.

Mr. Polk, however, in his Inaugural address, carefully re-affirmed the position respecting Oregon which his party had taken in the national canvass, and quoted part of the phrase used in the platform put forth by the convention which nominated him. The issue had been made so broadly, that it must be squarely met, and finally adjusted. The Democrats in their eagerness had left no road for honorable retreat, and had cut themselves off from the resources and convenient postponements of diplomacy. Dangerous as it was to the new administration to confront

the issue, it would have been still more dangerous to attempt to avoid it. The decisive step, in the policy to which the administration was committed, was to give formal notice to Great Britain that the joint occupation of the Oregon country under the treaty of 1827 must cease. A certain degree of moral strength was unexpectedly imparted to the Democratic position by the fact that the venerable John Quincy Adams was decidedly in favor of the notice, and ably supported, in a unique and powerful speech in the House of Representatives, our title to the country up to 54° 40'. The first convention for joint occupancy had been negotiated while Mr. Adams was Secretary of State, and the second while he was President; so that, in addition to the weight of authority with which he always spoke, his words seemed entitled to special confidence on a question with which he was necessarily so familiar. His great influence brought many Whigs to the support of the resolution; and on the 9th of February, 1846, the House, by the large vote of 163 to 54, declared in favor of giving the treaty notice to Great Britain.

The country at once became alarmed by the growing rumors that the resolution of the House was a direct challenge to Great Britain for a trial of strength as to the superior title to the Oregon country, and it was soon apparent that the Senate would proceed with more circumspection and conservatism. Events were rapidly tending towards hostilities with Mexico, and the aggrandizement of territory likely to result from a war with that country was not viewed with a friendly eye, either by Great Britain or France. Indeed, the annexation of Texas, which had been accomplished the preceding year, was known to be distasteful to those governments. They desired that Texas might remain an independent republic, under more liberal trade relations than could be secured from the United States with its steady policy of fostering and advancing its own manufacturing interests. The directors of the administration saw therefore more and more clearly that, if a war with Mexico were impending, it would be sheer madness to open a quarrel with Great Britain, and force her into an alliance against us. Mr. Adams and those who voted with him did not believe that the notice to the British Government would provoke a war, but that firmness on our part, in the negotiation which should ensue, would induce England to yield her pretensions to any part of Oregon; to which Mr. Adams maintained, with elaboration of argument and demonstration, she had no shadow of right.

Mr. Adams was opposed to war with Mexico, and therefore did not draw his conclusions from the premises laid down by those who were charged with the policy of the administration. They naturally argued that a war with Great Britain might end in our losing the whole of Oregon, without acquiring any territory on our south-western border. The bare possibility of such a result would defeat the policy which they were seeking to uphold, and would at the same time destroy their party. In short, it became apparent that what might be termed the Texas policy of the administration, and what might be termed its Oregon policy, could not both be carried out. It required no prophet to foresee which would be maintained and which would be abandoned. "Fifty-four forty or fight," had been a good cry for the political campaign; but, when the fight was to be with Great Britain, the issue became too serious to be settled by such international law as is dispensed on the stump.

A very bitter controversy over the question began in the Senate as soon as the House resolution was received. But from the outset it was apparent that those who adhered to the 54° 40' policy, on which Mr. Polk had been elected, were in a small minority. That minority was led by General Cass; but its most brilliant advocate in debate was Edward A. Hannegan, Democratic Senator from Indiana, who angrily reproached his party for playing false to the pledges on which it had won a victory over the greatest political leader of the country. He measured the situation

accurately, read with discrimination the motives which underlay the change of policy on the part of the administration and its Southern supporters, and stated the whole case in a quick and curt reply to an interruption from a pro-slavery Senator,—"If Oregon were good for the production of sugar and cotton, it would not have encountered this opposition. Its possession would have been at once secured." The change in the Democratic position was greatly aided by the attitude of the Whig senators, who almost unanimously opposed the resolution of notice to Great Britain as passed by the House. Mr. Webster, for the first if not the only time in his senatorial career, read a carefully prepared speech, in which he did not argue the question of rightful boundary, but urged that a settlement on the forty-ninth parallel would be honorable to both countries, would avert hostile feeling, and restore amity and harmony. Mr. Berrien of Georgia made an exhaustive speech, inquiring into the rightfulness of title, and urged the line of 49°. Mr. Crittenden followed in the same vein, and in a reply to Senator William Allen of Ohio, chairman of Foreign Affairs, made a speech abounding in sarcasm and ridicule. The Whigs having in the campaign taken no part in the boastful demand for 54° 40', were not subjected to the humiliation of retracing imprudent steps and retracting unwise declarations.

Under the influences at work in the Senate, events developed rapidly. The House resolution of notice was defeated; and the Senate passed a substitute of a less aggressive type, in which the House, through the instrumentality of a conference committee, substantially concurred. The resolution as finally adopted authorized the President "at his discretion" to give the notice for the termination of the treaty to Great Britain. The preamble further softened the action of Congress by declaring that the notice was given in order that "the attention of the governments of both countries may be the more earnestly directed to the adoption of all proper measures for a speedy and amicable adjustment of the differences and disputes in regard to said territory."

The Southern Democrats in the House receded from their action, and the modified resolution was carried by nearly as large a vote as had been the previous one for decided and peremptory notice. In short, the great mass of the Southern Democrats in both Houses precipitately threw the Oregon issue aside. They had not failed to perceive that the hesitation in the administration in forcing an issue with Mexico was due to the apprehension of trouble with Great Britain, and they made haste to promote schemes of territorial acquisition in the South-West by withdrawing the pretensions so imprudently put forth in regard to our claims in the North-West. Only forty-six votes were given in the House against what was termed a disgraceful surrender. These were almost entirely from Northern Democrats, though a few Southern Democrats refused to recede. Among those who thus remained firm were Andrew Johnson, Stephen A. Douglas, Howell Cobb, Preston King, and Allen G. Thurman.

The passage of the modified and friendly resolution of notice dispelled all danger of trouble with Great Britain, and restored a sense of security in the United States. Immediately after its adoption, Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, under direction of the President, concluded a treaty with the British minister on the basis discussed by Mr. Calhoun two years before. The forty-ninth parallel was agreed upon as the boundary between the two countries, with certain concessions for a defined period, touching the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the navigation of the Columbia River by the British. This treaty was promptly confirmed by the Senate, and the long controversy over the Oregon Question was at rest. It had created a deep and wide-spread excitement in the country, and came very near precipitating hostilities with Great Britain. There is no doubt whatever that the English Government would have gone to war rather than surrender the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel. This fact had made the winter and early

spring of 1846 one of profound anxiety to all the people of the United States, and more especially those who were interested in the large mercantile marine which sailed under the American flag.

In simple truth, the country was not prepared to go to war with Great Britain in support of "our clear and unquestionable title" to the whole of Oregon. With her strong naval force on the Pacific, and her military force in Australasia, Great Britain could more readily and more easily take possession of the country in dispute than could the United States. We had no way of reaching Oregon except by doubling Cape Horn, and making a dangerous sea-voyage of many thousand miles. We could communicate across the continent only by the emigrant trail over rugged mountains and almost trackless plains. Our railway system was in its infancy in 1846. New York City did not have a continuous road to Buffalo. Philadelphia was not connected with Pittsburg. Baltimore's projected line to the Ohio had only reached Cumberland, among the eastern foot-hills of the Alleghanies. The entire Union had but five thousand miles of railway. There was scarcely a spot on the globe, outside of the United Kingdom, where we could not have fought England with greater advantage than on the north-west coast of America at that time. The war-cry of the Presidential campaign of 1844 was, therefore, in any event, absurd; and it proved to be mischievous. It is not improbable, that, if the Oregon Question had been allowed to rest for the time under the provisions of the treaty of 1827, the whole country would ultimately have fallen into our hands, and the American flag might to-day be waving over British Columbia. The course of events and the lapse of time were working steadily to our advantage. In 1826 Great Britain declined to accept the forty-ninth parallel, but demanded the Columbia River as the boundary. Twenty years afterwards she accepted the line previously rejected. American settlers had forced her back. With the sweep of our emigration and civilization to the Pacific Coast two years after the treaty of 1846, when gold was discovered in California, the tendency would have been still more strongly in our favor. Time, as Mr. Calhoun said, "would have effected every thing for us" if we could only have been patient and peaceful.

Taking the question, however, as it stood in 1846, the settlement must, upon full consideration and review, be adjudged honorable to both countries. Wise statesmen of that day felt, as wise statesmen of subsequent years have more and more realized, that a war between Great Britain and the United States would not only be a terrible calamity to both nations, but that it would stay the progress of civilization throughout the world. Future generations would hold the governing power in both countries guilty of a crime if war should ever be permitted except upon the failure of every other arbitrament. The harmless laugh of one political party at the expense of another forty years ago, the somewhat awkward receding from pretensions which could not be maintained by the Executive of the nation, have passed into oblivion. But a striking and useful lesson would be lost if it should be forgotten that the country was brought to the verge of war by the proclamation of a policy which could not be, and was not intended to be, enforced. It was originated as a cry to catch votes; and except with the ignorant, and the few whose judgment was carried away by enthusiasm, it was from the first thoroughly insincere. If the punishment could have fallen only upon those who raised the cry, perfect justice would have been done. But the entire country suffered, and probably endured a serious and permanent loss, from the false step taken by men who claimed what they could not defend and what they did not mean to defend.

The emigration of 1846 consisted of some two thousand souls, bringing with them four hundred and seventy wagons, and one

thousand and fifty cattle. At Fort Hall about one-half turned off and followed the Humboldt River route to California, among whom were the Donner Party, whose dreadful sufferings in the Sierra Nevada Mountains form one of the saddest pages of Pacific Coast history. The emigration was divided into a number of independent trains, each having its own leader and guide. Of those whose destination was the Willamette Valley, the greater portion pursued the old route down Snake River, and reached Oregon City without any unusual incident. Not so with all of them, for one hundred and fifty people, with forty-two wagons, were induced at Fort Hall to attempt a new route. At Fort Hall, Fort Boisé and Fort Walla Walla, the Hudson's Bay Company was doing a thriving trade with the immigrants, selling them supplies and buying for a song their worn-out cattle, or giving in exchange for them an order on the Chief Factor at Vancouver for a like number of the wild cattle belonging to the company. The general feeling against the company was very bitter, and in the spring of 1846 a number of men who had settled in the extreme southern end of the valley, decided to explore for a new route that would miss the company's posts and present less obstacles to the passage of wagons than the old one down Snake River. They believed that further south it was less mountainous, and that Meek's idea of the year before was correct, his error consisting in not keeping far enough to the south. If this new route could be found they would accomplish the two-fold object of drawing the immigrants away from the trading posts and bringing them first into the upper end of the valley, where, probably, the majority of them would settle—a result earnestly desired by the few who had already made their homes in that region. These men have been charged with having the latter result as their sole object, and that to accomplish it they deceived the immigrants as to the character of the route; but the allegation requires to sustain it far more proof than has yet been adduced, especially when made against such men as the Applegates.

The road party was composed of Captain Levi Scott, Jesse and Lindsay Applegate, John Jones, John Owens, Henry Boggus, William Sportsman, Samuel Goodhue, Robert Smith, Moses Harris, John Scott, William G. Parker, David Goff, and Benjamin F. Burch. They passed through Umpqua Valley and Rogue River

Valley, crossed the Cascades to Klamath, Tulé and Goose lakes, and thence over the arid hills and valleys of Nevada to Fort Hall. They found the route to present far less obstacles to the passage of wagons than the old one, and were of the opinion that water and grass existed at sufficiently short intervals to render it a practicable one for emigrant trains. In this latter opinion they were not correct, though a few years later, the route having been remodeled and new watering places found, it was quite extensively used by emigrants to Northern California and Southern Oregon. The trouble lay chiefly in the fact that they were mounted, and traveled much more rapidly than the slow-moving emigrant wagon, and were thus easily led into a mistake in judgment. The consequence was, that those who were led by their representations at Fort Hall to try the new route, found it almost devoid of water and grass until Goose Lake was reached. They suffered severely, and their cattle became so feeble that they could scarcely pull the wagons along, many of them lying down in the endless sea of sage brush to die. From Goose Lake to Umpqua Canyon water and grass were plentiful, but the work kept the cattle from recuperating fully, so that they reached the canyon in very poor condition. Here was reached the climax. The feeble cattle, such of them as remained alive, were unequal to the task of pulling the wagons through. Added to this their great loss of time had caused the exhaustion of their supplies, which they had not the opportunity to replenish offered by the trading posts along the old route. Their hardships were great; and many of them, abandoning everything in the canyon, reached the valley in a deplorable condition. Among these were Hon. J. Quinn Thornton and wife, who experienced exceptionally severe hardships. The impression then received by Mr. Thornton, that those who had induced him to depart from the old route had done so by means of willful falsehood and for unworthy and selfish motives, has never faded away. It has given rise to much acrimonious discussion and bitter feeling, and is the more to be regretted because the two leaders of the controversy—Mr. Thornton and Jesse Applegate—are both gentlemen of great natural and acquired attainments, of sterling integrity, and receive the universal respect and honor of their fellow pioneers. A roster of the emigrant trains of 1846 has never been prepared.

The immigrants brought with them intelligence that the boundary question was again being negotiated, and was in a fair way to be settled, giving the country, as far north, at least, as the forty-ninth parallel, to the United States; and this had a most cheering effect upon this small self-governed community. The annual election for representatives and county officers occurred June 4, 1846. The following gentlemen were chosen members of the Legislature: Hiram Straight, A. L. Lovejoy, W. G. T'Vault, from Clackamas; J. L. Meek, Lawrence Hall, D. H. Lownsdale, from Tualatin; Jesse Looney, Angus McDonald, Robert Newell, A. Chamberlain, from Champoege; Governor Simmons, from Clatsop; Thomas Jeffreys, A. J. Hembree, from Yamhill; J. E. Williams, John D. Boon, from Polk; Henry Peers, from Vancouver; W. F. Tolmie, from Lewis. Lewis had been cut from Vancouver (now Clarke) by the previous Legislature, both lying on the north side of the Columbia.

Another event of 1846 was the founding of the *Oregon Spectator* at Oregon City, printed upon the press brought in 1839 from the Sandwich Islands. The first number was issued in February, and it was the first newspaper upon the Pacific Coast, since the initial number of the *Californian* was not printed at Monterey until the fifteenth of the following August. On the tenth of September the United States schooner *Shark* was lost on the bar of the Columbia while endeavoring to put to sea, and her stand of colors was all the crew saved from the wreck. Lieutenant Howison, her commander, enjoyed the hospitalities of the pioneers for several months, and upon taking his departure presented the colors to the people through Governor Abernethy, accompanied by the following letter:—

One of the few articles preserved from the ship-wreck of the late United States schooner *Shark*, was her stand of colors. To display the national emblem, and cheer our citizens in this distant territory by its presence, was a principal object of the *Shark's* visit to the Columbia; and it appears to me, therefore, highly proper that it should henceforth remain with you, as a memento of parental regard from the General Government. With the fullest confidence that it will be received and duly appreciated as such by our countrymen here, I do myself the honor of transmitting the flags (an Ensign and Union Jack) to your address; nor can I omit the occasion to express my gratification and pride that this relic of my late command should be emphatically the first *United States* flag to wave over the undisputed and purely American territory of Oregon.

The flags still, on proper occasions, flutter in the Oregon breezes. Lieutenant Howison, upon his return, wrote a report of Oregon

and the struggles of her loyal citizens, which did much to open the eyes of the Government to the condition of this region and the necessity of doing something for the protection of those hardy people who had carried the picket line of republican institutions so far into the wilderness.

The immigration of 1847 has been estimated at five thousand souls, fully two-thirds of whom came to Oregon, the remainder adding their strength to the Americans who were struggling to hold possession of California against the defeated Mexicans, from whose grasp it had been wrested. Many most valuable things were brought by them, things which added largely to the means the people possessed to increase their comfort and wealth. As one of them (Hon. Ralph C. Geer) expressed it in a recent speech, they "brought everything nearly, from a paper of pins to a four-foot buhr." The mill-stones were brought by a Mr. Haun, a Missouri miller of considerable notoriety. Another important item was a herd of pure Durham cattle, brought by John Wilson, of Illinois, who also had among his effects some splendid brood mares. Captain Benser and J. C. Geer, Sr., also brought some fine cattle, and M. L. Savage, the well known race horse "Old George." In a few years the cattle and horses of the Willamette Valley showed the effects of this introduction of blooded stock among them. Mr. Fields contributed a flock of fine sheep from Missouri, whose descendants have always been held in high esteem by the farmers of the valley. "Uncle" Headrick, William Tappin, Johnson Mulkey and R. Patton also brought flocks of fine sheep. Thomas and William Cox brought a stock of goods and opened at Salem the first store south of Champoege. They also brought peach pits and planted them. A. R. Dimick brought potato seeds, which he planted in the northern part of Marion County, raising the famous "Dimick" potatoes. Mr. Geer brought a bushel of apple seeds and a half bushel of pear seeds, which went far toward supplying the coast with fruit trees. But by far the most important undertaking of all is thus related by Mr. Geer:—

But the greatest undertaking, and one that was crowned with success, and one that contributed the most to the name and fame of Oregon, was the "Traveling Nursery," brought across the plains by the late Henderson Luelling, in 1847. If a man is a benefactor to his race who makes two spears of grass grow where only one grew before, what is he to his State who makes luscious pears, cherries, plums and

apples grow, where only poor seedlings, or none, grew before! Mr. Henderson Luelling, by bringing that splendid assortment of apples, pears, plums, cherries, quinces, grapes, berries and flowers in his "Traveling Nursery" to Oregon in 1847, gave to Oregon the name of "God's Country, or the Land of Big Red Apples," a name that every pioneer of Oregon feels proud of. I never thought Mr. Luelling received the reward that his enterprise merited. I have dealt with him to the extent of thousands of dollars, from one dollar to two thousand dollar transactions, and always found him honest. Being honest himself he trusted too much, and consequently was victimized to a fearful extent. The conception and carrying out of that enterprise was not the sudden conviction as to the importance of the fruit business, but was the result of a train of circumstances, the most controlling of which was his long and successful engagement in the nursery business.

In the fall of 1845 he began to prepare to start to Oregon, but could not dispose of his land in time to start until it would be quite late, so he concluded to wait another year and bring the "Traveling Nursery." He planted his nursery thus: He made two boxes twelve inches deep, and just wide and long enough to fill the wagon bed, and filled them with a compost consisting principally of charcoal and earth, into which he planted about seven hundred trees and shrubs, from twenty inches to four feet high, and protected them from the stock by a light though strong frame fastened to the wagon bed. He left the Missouri River the seventeenth of May.

On the Platte Mr. Luelling took charge of the nursery wagon and team to bring it through in his own way and time, for it was already pronounced by some of his friends as a very hazardous undertaking to draw such a heavy load all the way over the Rocky Mountains; but every discouraging proposition he invariably answered, that so long as he could take it without endangering the safety of his family, he would stick to it. The last time that any one tried to discourage him about the nursery wagon was on the North Platte. Rev. Mr. White suggested that he had better leave it, as the cattle were becoming weary and foot-sore, and that owing to the continued weight of that load, it would kill all his cattle and prevent his getting through; but his answer was such an emphatic "no," that he was allowed to follow his own course after that without remonstrance.

The nursery reached The Dalles about the first of October, and the trees were there taken out of the boxes and securely wrapped in cloths to protect them from frosty nights and the various handlings that they had to undergo in the transit down the Columbia. That load of trees contained health, wealth and comfort for the old pioneers of Oregon. It was the mother of all our early nurseries and orchards, and gave Oregon a name and fame that she never would have had without it. The load of living trees and shrubs brought more wealth to Oregon than any ship that ever entered the Columbia River. Then I say hail, all hail, to the "Traveling Nursery" that crossed the plains in 1847!

Besides those already mentioned the immigration of 1847 contained many who subsequently became prominent in the political, professional and industrial life of Oregon, one of them being Hon. Samuel R. Thurston, who first represented the Territory in Congress, and in whose honor Thurston County, now in Washington Territory, was named.

A portion of the immigration of 1847 came down the Humboldt and over the Applegate trail to Southern Oregon, the route which

had been found such a disastrous one the year before. They were guided by Captain Levi Scott, the man who had been the leader of the road exploring party, and who accompanied the first of the four trains which this year followed that route. They experienced no unusual difficulty, and accomplished the whole distance from Snake River, at the mouth of Raft River, to the head of Willamette Valley, in sixty-three days, a much shorter time than it took the unfortunate party with Mr. Thornton. One of them, Hon. Thomas Smith, says: "We got through 'the Canyon' with but little trouble, although it was such a bug-a-boo to the emigration the year before." The easy passage of these trains in 1847 is conclusive evidence that the disasters of 1846 can not be wholly charged up to the unfavorable character of the route, and that the gentlemen who persuaded the immigrants to attempt its passage were not guilty of so much misrepresentation of it as has been charged against them. Of the members of these trains—one of which attempted to reach the Sacramento Valley from near Lost River, but failed and came to Oregon—Mr. Smith remembers the following, many of whom still reside in the State: John Grimsby, wife and six children; Abraham Coryell and two grown sons, Lewis and George; Benjamin Davis, wife and six children; Ira Wells, wife and one child; David Wells and wife; William Wyatt, wife and two or three children; William Aldrich, Sr., and wife; William Aldrich, Jr., and wife; Andrew Welsh, wife and two or three children; William Johnson; William Risk; John Benson; David Cook; Thomas Smith; Mr. Davidson; John Lebo; David D. Davis and family; Briggs, Sr., and wife; Briggs, Jr., and wife; Prior F. Blair and family; James Frederick and family; John Aiken and family; James Chapin; Cornelius Hills; Charnell Mulligan; Wilkeson Gouldy; Joseph Downer; John Gilliam; George Gilliam.

On the third of June, 1847, was held the annual election for officers, both territorial and county. There were 1,074 votes cast, of which George Abernethy received 536, A. Lawrence Lovejoy 520, A. Husted 11, and scattering 7; thus continuing Mr. Abernethy as the Chief Executive of the Provisional Government. The following gentlemen were chosen members of the Legislature: Medorum Crawford, J. W. Wair, S. S. White, from Clackamas; Ralph Wilcox, Joseph L. Meek, David Hill, from Multnomah; Willard H. Rees,

A. Chamberlain, Robert Newell, Anderson Cox, W. H. Rector, from Champoeg; L. A. Rice, Lewis Rogers, A. J. Hembree, from Yamhill; J. W. Nesmith, N. A. Ford, W. St. Clare, from Polk; Henry Peers, William Ryan, from Vancouver; S. Plamonden, from Lewis; J. Robinson, from Clatsop.

The next and last election under the Provisional Government was held June 12, 1848. The usual county officers were chosen and the following members of the Legislature: A. L. Lovejoy,* George L. Curry, J. S. Snook,* from Clackamas; William J. Bailey, Robert Newell, A. Gaines, William Portius, from Champoeg; Ralph Wilcox, Samuel R. Thurston, Peter H. Burnett, from Tualatin; William Martin, A. J. Hembree, L. A. Rice, from Yamhill; H. Linnville, J. W. Nesmith, Osborn Russell, from Polk.

The emigration of 1848 was quite large, though statistics in relation to it have never been gathered. Many who had originally started for Oregon changed their destination for California when learning while en route of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill.

* Resigned, and Medorum Crawford and A. F. Hedges chosen at special election Nov. 27, 1848.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE AND THE CAYUSE WAR.

Condition of Protestant and Catholic Missions in 1847—Situation of Affairs at Waiilatpu—Tom Hill and Joe Lewis—Whitman Buys The Dalles Mission and Prepares to Abandon Waiilatpu—Catholics Establish a Mission on the Umatilla—Sickness among the Cayuses—Joe Lewis' Poison Story—Evidence of Colonel Craig and the Whitman Indians—Details of the Massacre—Charges Against the Catholics—Ransom of the Captives—Action of the Provisional Government—Oregon Rifles Take Possession of The Dalles—A Regiment Organized—Campaign in the Cayuse Country—End of the War—Five Cayuses Executed at Oregon City.

THE condition of the various missions has been noted from time to time, showing that the Catholics were making rapid progress, the missions of the American Board east of the mountains advancing but slowly, and the Methodists losing ground so rapidly that work was discontinued everywhere but at The Dalles in 1844. The mission property at that point was sold to Dr. Whitman in the fall of 1847. The Catholics at that time numbered in their congregations fifteen hundred whites and half-breeds of Canadian descent, and six thousand Indian neophytes. Bishop F. N. Blanchet was at the head of the diocese, which included not only Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana, but British Columbia, then known as "New Caledonia." Bishop Blanchet was in personal charge of the field west of the Cascades, Father A. M. A. Blanchet east of the mountains, and Father Modest Demers in New Caledonia. There were twenty-six clergymen employed, among whom were Fathers Michael Occolti, Peter J. DeSmet, Peter DeVos, Audrian Hoecken, Joseph Joset, Gregory Mengarini, John Nobili, Nicholas

Point, Anthony Ravalli, Aloysius Vereruyse, Anthony Sandlois, John Baptist Baldue. In the Willamette Valley there had been built St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Mary's Convent, St. Francis Xavier's Chapel, St. John's, in Oregon City, and a new church in French Prairie; there were also churches at Vancouver, Cowlitz and Whidby in Western Washington, four in New Caledonia, St. Mary's among the Flat Heads, Sacred Heart at Cœur d'Alene, St. Ignatius at Lake Pend d'Oreille, and St. Paul near Fort Colville. There were also half a dozen other stations where chapels or churches were contemplated. In the way of institutions of learning St. Paul's College and an academy for girls had been founded in the Willamette Valley, and other schools were maintained at some of the older missions. This array of strength is a startling comparison with the feebleness of the Protestant Missions. The leading causes have been pointed out—the powerful influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, the methods, ceremonies and discipline of the Catholic Church, and the fact that they were not, like the Protestants, held responsible by the Indians for the great influx of American settlers.

Of the missions of the American Board, that at Lapwai was making slight progress, Tshimikain was holding its own, and Wailatpu was retrograding. At each station there were a few who seemed to be in full accord with the missionaries, but the majority were indifferent, and some were even hostile. At Wailatpu things had been going wrong for some time. From the time Whitman first went among them there was a small portion of the Cayuses who were opposed to him and his work, Tam-su-ky, an influential chief who resided on the Walla Walla, being at the head of this turbulent faction. When Whitman returned with the great train of emigrants in 1843, these Indians pointed to it as an evidence that his missionary pretensions were but a cloak to cover his design upon their liberties, that he was bringing Americans into the country to take away their lands. This feeling of hostility spread from year to year, especially among the Cayuses, through whose country the emigrants nearly all passed, and who were thus better able than the other tribes to see in what great numbers they came and what a cordial welcome they received from Dr. Whitman and his associates. In 1845 a Delaware Indian, called "Tom Hill,"

lived among the Nez Perces and told them how American missionaries visited his people to teach them religion, and were soon followed by other Americans who took away their lands; and he warned them to drive Mr. Spalding away, unless they would invite a similar misfortune. This Indian visited Whitman's Mission and related to the Cayuses the story of the ruin of his tribe which had followed the advent of American missionaries among them.

In the latter part of 1847 another Indian came among the Cayuses, about whose pedigree there has been so much dispute that it is as well to pass it by. He had spent much time among the whites, and being serviceable as an interpreter, and being possessed of much intelligence, the doctor gave him employment about the mission. He seemed to be possessed of a fiendish disposition and to harbor a special malignity against the Americans. Joe Lewis, for such was his name, reaffirmed the statements of Tom Hill, and said that it was the American plan to first send missionaries, and then a few settlers every year, until they had taken all the land and made the Indians slaves. Tam-su-ky and his followers were now triumphant, and boasted of their superior wisdom in opposing the mission from the first. Besides this faction there were now many who desired to exchange to the Catholic religion, of which they heard favorable reports from other tribes. The long black gowns and imposing ceremonies had captured them. Whitman was warned of the danger he ran by Um-howlish and Stick-us, but though he perceived the gathering storm he thought it could be averted. Thomas McKay, between whom and the doctor there existed a warm friendship, also warned him that it was unsafe to live longer among the Cayuses, and Whitman offered to sell the property to him, an offer which he agreed to accept if he could dispose of his claim in the Willamette Valley. With this sale in view, Whitman went to The Dalles in the fall of 1847, and purchased the disused Methodist Mission, and placing his nephew, P. B. Whitman, in charge, returned to spend the winter at Waiilatpu, preparatory to moving to his new location in the spring. This was the condition of affairs when the Catholics decided to take advantage of the desire of a number of the Cayuses to embrace that faith and establish a mission among them. On September 5, 1847, Father A. M. A. Blanchet reached Walla Walla with three associate priests, and the fort be-

came their headquarters for a number of weeks while they were seeking a place suitable for a permanent location. There Whitman found them upon his return from The Dalles, and quite a stormy interview ensued, though it must be confessed that the storming was chiefly done by the indignant doctor; and no wonder. He had just made arrangements to abandon all he had accomplished by eleven years of self-denial and labor, and here he found those to whom he attributed his misfortunes ready to take his place even before he had left it. He made known his displeasure in strong terms, but his rebuke was received with an unruffled coolness that served but to increase his aggravation. They finally located on the Umatilla at the home of Five Crows, the head chief, two days before the massacre, Father J. B. A. Brouillet being in charge.

That year immigrants from the States brought with them dysentery and the measles, which soon became epidemic among the Cayuses. Many Indians died in spite of the remedies administered by the doctor and the careful attention of his noble wife. This was Joe Lewis' opportunity. He told the Cayuses that Whitman intended to kill them all; that for this purpose he had sent home for poison two years before, but they had not forwarded a good kind; this year the immigrants had brought him some good poison, and he was now using it to kill off the Cayuses; that when they were all dead the Americans would come and take their lands. He even went so far as to declare that he overheard a conversation between Mr. Spalding and Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, in which the former complained because the doctor was not killing them fast enough, and then the trio began to count up the wealth they would acquire when the Indians were all disposed of. He also asserted that the priest (Father Brouillet) had told him the Doctor was giving them poison. A number of years before an American trapper and renegade had purposely spread small-pox among the Blackfeet, and killed hundreds of that tribe. This was well known by all the Indian tribes from the Cascades to the Missouri, and had its effect in leading the Cayuses to believe the Doctor was poisoning them. These statements are made upon the authority of the written statement of Colonel William Craig, a well-known American trapper and trader, who happened to be at Lapwai when a Cayuse messenger arrived there nine days after the massacre, for the purpose of

informing the powerful Nez Perces of what had taken place and securing their support. Colonel Craig was present at the council, and heard these reasons given by the Cayuse courier. They are also based upon an interview held by the writer with three of these Indians at Pendleton, one of them, Um-howlish, being a chief at the time of the massacre and a warm supporter of Whitman, and still an adherent of the simple faith taught him by the Doctor. On the point of the priest telling that Whitman was giving them poison, they unanimously agreed that they never heard him say so, but that Joe Lewis had told them the priest said it; that it was generally believed at the time that the priest had thus stated, but afterwards, in canvassing the question among themselves, no one could be found to whom the priest had said anything of the kind, and that it all came through Joe Lewis. One thing the Roman missionary did say, and this helped to confirm them in the belief that he had said the other—that Dr. Whitman was a bad man, and if they believed what he told them they would all go to hell, for he was telling them lies. Even such a statement as that, coming from such a source, and made to unreasoning and passionate savages, already unduly excited by the loss of so many of their number, was enough, in case they believed it true, to have caused the bloody scene which followed, even had not the poison theory been so industriously circulated by the scheming Lewis. Without knowing of the perfidious conduct of Joe Lewis, Whitman recognized the impending danger, and requested McKay to spend the winter with him; but he was unable to comply.

The followers of Tam-su-ky determined to put the poison theory to a practical test. The wife of that chief was sick; and they agreed among themselves that they would get some medicine from the Doctor and give it to her; if she recovered, good; if not, then they would kill the missionaries. They made the experiment, and the woman died. Wailatpu was centrally located, since the Cayuses occupied the country from the Umatilla to the Tukannon. Every Sunday large numbers gathered at the Mission, some of them to actually participate in the services, and others because of the large crowd they knew would be assembled. On week days, however, it was seldom that a dozen could be found there at a time. For this reason Tam-su-ky and his followers chose a week day for

their bloody deed—a time when they thought none of the Whitman Indians would be present to interfere. They were careful to conceal their designs from the Christian Indians and from Five Crows, for fear its execution would be prevented. On November 29, 1847, about fifty Indians assembled at the Mission, chiefly the relatives and friends of Tam-su-ky. Of these, only five actually participated in the bloody work, the others simply looking on and preventing the interference of any outsiders, and especially of the one or two Whitman Indians who happened to be present. The horrible details of the massacre it is needless to relate. Mr. Spalding has given them with a minuteness that is strongly suggestive of a liberal use of the imagination, yet his narrative is, in the main, probably as correct as could be gathered from the incoherent stories of frightened women and children. It is only when he carries the melodramatic too far, and when he is endeavoring to make it appear that the massacre was committed at the instigation of Father Brouillet, and was sanctioned by the Hudson's Bay Company, that his statements become positively unreliable; though throughout the whole account they closely border upon the line of uncertainty and doubtful authenticity, and the deductions drawn are often extremely uncharitable and illogical. He uses such expressions as "multitudes of Indians," "cutting down their victims everywhere," "the roar of guns," "*crash* of warclubs and *tomahawks*," "shocks like terrific peals of thunder" (referring to the desultory discharge of a few guns), "*crash* of the clubs and the *knives*," and yet, when the whole is summed up, but thirteen were killed in all—nine that day, two the next, and two eight days later. He is equally reckless in his language when making charges against Father Brouillet, whom he accuses of coming up from the Umatilla the day after the massacre and "baptizing the murderers." The facts are, that he came upon an invitation given him by the Missionary several days before, only learning of the horrible tragedy upon his arrival; and the "murderers" whom he baptized were three sick children, two of whom expired immediately after the ceremony. He also accuses him of pretending to find the poison and burying it so that it could have no more influence. On this point the Whitman Indians state positively that this performance was done by Joe Lewis, and not the Priest. The only interference the Priest dared to make openly

was when he successfully interposed to save Spalding's life, and gave him food upon which to subsist during his flight to Lapwai.

The bloody excesses into which religious zealots were led in times past suggest the possibility of the truth of these charges, yet they are entirely unsupported by evidence which would appeal to the intelligence of any one unbiased by denominational prejudice; and common charity should demand convincing proof to sustain such an accusation. The Catholics can not, however, escape a large measure of moral responsibility. They went among the Cayuses for the purpose of driving Whitman away and obtaining control of the tribe; and to accomplish this they told the Indians that Doctor Whitman was a bad man and was telling them lies, and if they did as he said they would surely go to hell. Father Brouillet ought by that time to have become sufficiently acquainted with the Indian character to know that such assertions, if they were credited, were calculated to bring about just such a tragedy as was enacted. The massacre was the result of four distinct causes—the dislike of Americans, the ravages of the epidemic, the poison intrigue of Joe Lewis, and the Priest's denunciation of Doctor Whitman, and where the responsibility for one of these rests is easily seen. The victims of Cayuse ignorance and passion were: Doctor Marcus Whitman, Mrs. Narcissa Whitman, John Sager, Francis Sager, Crockett Bewley, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Kimball, Mr. Sales, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Saunders, James Young, Jr., Mr. Hoffman and Isaac Gillen.

Intelligence of the massacre reached Fort Vancouver by special messenger from William McBean to James Douglas, the Chief Factor. The courier did not warn the people at The Dalles of their danger as he passed, and when questioned about his conduct replied that he obeyed the instructions of Mr. McBean. This and McBean's conduct at Fort Walla Walla in displaying an unwillingness to give shelter to fugitives from Waiilatpu, have been cited as conclusive evidence that the Hudson's Bay Company connived at the massacre; but nothing in the conduct of other officers of the company sustains such an opinion, while much is to the contrary, and it simply shows that McBean, knowing the general feeling of the Indians against the Americans, was afraid he would compromise the company by defending them. He had not soul enough to rise to the emergency. Mr. Douglas sent a messenger to Governor

Abernethy, apprising him of what had taken place; and without waiting to see what steps the Americans would take, Peter Skeen Ogden, an old and influential factor of the company, departed from Vancouver with an armed force to the scene of the tragedy. He held a council with the Cayuses at Fort Walla Walla, and offered to ransom the captives, assuring the Indians that the company was exceedingly displeased with their conduct, and they would much regret it if they provoked the Americans to war. The conference resulted in the surrender of forty-seven prisoners, chiefly women and children, and on January 1, fifty Nez Perces arrived with Mr. Spalding and ten others, who were also ransomed. On the tenth they all reached Oregon City, and great was the joy of the people. For his humane conduct and prompt action Peter Ogden should always occupy a warm place in the heart of Americans; yet there are those who ungratefully accuse him of attempting to arm the Cayuses against the Americans, simply because a few guns and a little ammunition formed a portion of the ransom paid to deliver these helpless women from a captivity which was worse than death. The pen fails utterly to depict the terrible sufferings inflicted upon them, including even girls of a tender age, bordering upon infancy. No ransom was too great for their release.

The first intelligence received by the settlers in the Willamette Valley of the tragedy at Wailatpu, was the note sent to Governor Abernethy by Dr. McLoughlin. The Governor immediately communicated it to the Legislature, then in session, and called for volunteers. A public meeting was held in Oregon City that night, the eighth of December, and a company was organized for the purpose of taking possession of The Dalles. As winter had set in, there was no danger of an invasion from east of the mountains except by way of The Dalles. How much of a combination there was among the Cayuses and their neighbors was not known. Consequently it was necessary to provide against the worst that might be expected. It was evident that a force at The Dalles was necessary as a protection to the settlements in the valley. Of this company Henry A. G. Lee was elected Captain, and Joseph Magone and John E. Ross Lieutenants. The credit of the Provisional Government was pledged by the Legislature to secure equipments for the command, but the committee which visited Vancouver found

that the Chief Factor preferred their individual responsibility. Upon giving this, arms were issued to the "Oregon Rifles," who reached Vancouver on the tenth to receive them. On the twenty-first they reached The Dalles and went into camp. In the meantime the Legislature entered with energy upon a series of resolutions and enactments with a view to a military organization of magnitude sufficient to chastise the Indians, and the citizens by subscriptions and enlistments seconded cordially the efforts of their Provisional Government. Many were for pushing forward into the enemy's country at once with a formidable force, but wiser counsels prevailed, and nothing was done likely to prevent the Indians from surrendering their white captives to Mr. Ogden.

In pursuance of the act of December 9, a regiment of fourteen companies of volunteers was raised and equipped upon the credit of the Provisional Government. It speaks volumes for the brave pioneers of the Willamette that they thus responded to the call of duty, supplying, in most cases, their own arms, equipments and horses, without a mercenary thought entering their minds. It was no speculation either by the volunteers or the men who furnished supplies—something which can not be said of certain subsequent campaigns. The following is a roster of the officers:—

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

Colonel, Cornelius Gilliam (accidentally killed).
Lieutenant-Colonel, James Waters (promoted to Colonel).
Major, H. A. G. Lee.
Adjutant, B. F. Burch.
Surgeon, W. M. Carpenter.
Assistant Surgeons, F. Snider and H. Saffarans.
Commissary, Joel Palmer.
Quartermaster, B. Jennings.
Paymaster, L. B. Knox.
Judge Advocate, Jacob S. Rinearson.

LINE OFFICERS.

Company A—55 men—Captain, Lawrence Hall; First Lieutenant, H. D. O'Bryant;
Second Lieutenant, John Engent.
Company B—43 men—Captain, John W. Owens; First Lieutenant, A. F. Rogers;
Second Lieutenant, T. C. Shaw.
Company C—84 men—Captain, H. J. G. Maxon; First Lieutenant, I. N. Gilbert;
Second Lieutenant, Wm. P. Pugh.
Company D—36 men—Captain, Thomas McKay; First Lieutenant, Charles McKay;
Second Lieutenant, Alex. McKay.

- Company D—52 men—Captain, Phil. F. Thompson; First Lieutenant, *Jas. Brown; Second Lieutenant, J. M. Garrison.
- Company E—44 men—Captain, Levi N. English; First Lieutenant, Wm. Shaw; Second Lieutenant, F. M. Munkers.
- Company E—36 men—Captain, William Martin; First Lieutenant, A. E. Garrison; Second Lieutenant, David Waters.
- Company E—63 men—Captain, W. P. Pugh; First Lieutenant, N. R. Doty; Second Lieutenant, M. Ramsely.
- Company G—66 men—Captain, James W. Nesmith; First Lieutenant, J. S. Snook; Second Lieutenant, M. Gilliam.
- Company H—49 men—Captain, George W. Bennett; First Lieutenant, J. R. Bevin; Second Lieutenant, J. R. Payne.
- †Company I—36 men—Captain, William Shaw; First Lieutenant, D. Crawford; Second Lieutenant, B. Dario.
- Company No. 7—27 men—Captain, J. M. Garrison; First Lieutenant, A. E. Garrison; Second Lieutenant, John Hersen.
- F. S. Water's Guard—57 men—Captain, Wm. Martin; First Lieutenant, D. Weston; Second Lieutenant, B. Taylor.
- Reorganized Company—Captain, John E. Ross; First Lieutenant, D. P. Barnes; Second Lieutenant, W. W. Porter.

Colonel Gilliam reached The Dalles on the twenty-third of February, with fifty men, followed a few days later by the remainder of the regiment. On the twenty-seventh he moved to the Des Chutes with one hundred and thirty men, crossed to the east bank, and sent Major Lee up that stream about twenty miles on a reconnoissance, where he found the enemy, engaged them, killed one, lost some of his horses and returned to report progress. On the twenty-ninth Colonel Gilliam moved up the Des Chutes to Meek's Crossing, at the mouth of the cayon in which Major Lee had met the Indians. The next morning, on entering the canyon, a skirmish followed, in which were captured from the hostiles, forty horses, four head of cattle and \$300 worth of personal property, all of which was sold by the Quartermaster for \$1,400. The loss of the Indians in killed and wounded was not known. There was one white man wounded. The result was a treaty of peace with the Des Chutes Indians. The command pushed immediately forward to the Walla Walla country and reached the Mission prior to March 4. On the way to that place a battle occurred at Sand Hollows, on the emigrant road, eight miles east of the Well Springs. It commenced on the plain where washes in the sand make natural hiding places for a foe, and lasted until towards night. The volun-

* Died at Vancouver, February 30, 1848.

† Organized at Walla Walla, June 7, 1848; mustered out September 28, 1848.

Companies E and No. 7 were consolidated as Company K, April 17, 1848.

teer force was arranged with the train in the road, protected by Captain Hall's company. The companies of Captains Thompson and Maxon, forming the left flank, were on the north side of the road, and those of Captains English and McKay, as the right flank, were on the south or right of the command. Upon McKay's company at the extreme right the first demonstration was made. Five Crows, the head chief of the Cayuses, made some pretensions to the possession of wizard powers, and declared to his people that no ball from the white man's gun could kill him. Another chief of that tribe named "War Eagle," or "Swallow Ball," made similar professions, and stated that he could swallow all the bullets from the guns of the invading army if they were fired at him. The two chiefs promised their people that Gilliam's command should never reach the Umatilla River, and to demonstrate their invulnerability and power as medicine chiefs, they dashed out from concealment, rode down close to the volunteers and shot a little dog that came out to bark at them. Captain McKay, although the order was not to fire, could hold back no longer, and bringing his rifle to bear, took deliberate aim and shot War Eagle through the head, killing him instantly. Lieutenant Charles McKay brought his shot gun down to the hollow of his arm, and firing without sighting it, so severely wounded Five Crows that he gave up the command of his warriors. This was a serious, chilling opening for the Indians—two chiefs gone at the first onset and their medicine proved worthless—but they continued the battle in a skirmishing way, making dashing attacks and masterly retreats until late in the afternoon. At one time during the engagement, Captain Maxon's company followed the enemy so far that it was surrounded, and a sharp encounter followed, in which a number of volunteers were disabled. In fact, eight of the eleven soldiers wounded that day were of Maxon's company. Two Indians were known to have been killed, but the enemy's loss could not be known as they removed all of their wounded and dead except two.

That night the regiment camped on the battlefield without water, and the Indians built large and numerous fires along the bluffs, or high lands, some two miles in advance. The next day Colonel Gilliam moved on, and without incident worthy of note, reached Whitman's Mission the third day after the battle. The

main body of Indians fell back towards Snake River, and a fruitless attempt followed to induce them to give up the parties who had committed the murders at Waiilatpu. Colonel Gilliam at last determined upon making a raid into the Snake River country, and in carrying out this programme surprised a camp of Cayuses near that stream, among whom were some of the murderers. The captured camp professed friendship, however, and pointed out the horses of Indians on the hill, which, they said, belonged to the parties whom the Colonel was anxious to kill or capture, stating that their owners were on the north side of Snake River, and beyond reach. So well was their part acted that the officers believed their statements, proceeded to drive off the stock indicated, and started on their return. They soon found that a grievous error had been committed in releasing the village, whose male population were soon mounted upon war horses, and assailed the volunteers on all sides, forcing them to fight their way as they fell back to the Touchet River. Through the whole day and even into the night after their arrival at the latter stream, the contest was maintained—a constant, harassing skirmish. The soldiers drove the Indians back again and again, but as soon as the retreat was resumed, the enemy were upon them once more. Finally, after going into camp on the Touchet, Colonel Gilliam ordered the captured stock turned loose; and when the Indians got possession of it, they returned to Snake River without molesting the command any further. In the struggle on the Touchet, when the retreating soldiers first reached that stream, William Taylor was mortally wounded by an Indian, who sprang up in the bushes by the stream and fired with but a few yards between them. Nathan Olney, afterwards Indian Agent, seeing the act, rushed upon the savage, snatched from his hand a war club in which was fastened a piece of iron, and dealt him a blow on the head with it with such force as to cause the iron to split the club, and yet failed to kill him. He then closed with his antagonist in a hand-to-hand struggle, and soon ended the contest with a knife. There were no other casualties reported.

Colonel Gilliam started from the Mission on the twentieth of March, with a small force destined to return from The Dalles with supplies, while he was to continue to the Willamette and report to the Governor. While camped at Well Springs he was killed by

an accidental discharge of a gun, and his remains were taken to his friends west of the Cascades by Major Lee. This officer soon returned to his regiment with a commission as Colonel, but finding Lieutenant-Colonel Waters had been elected by the regiment to that position in his absence, he resigned and filled a subordinate office for the remainder of his term of enlistment. The attempt by commissioners, who had been sent with the volunteers, as requested by the Indians in a memorial to the Americans at the time the captives were ransomed, to negotiate a peaceful solution of the difficult problem, failed. They wanted the Indians to deliver up for execution all those who had imbued their hands in blood at Waiilatpu; they wished the Cayuses to pay all damages to emigrants caused by their being robbed or attacked while passing through the Cayuse country. The Indians wished nothing of the kind. They wanted peace and to be let alone; for the Americans to call the account balanced and drop the matter. The failure to agree had resulted in two or three skirmishes, one of them at least a severe test of strength, in which the Indians had received the worst of it, and in the other the volunteers had accomplished nothing that could be counted a success. The Cayuses, finding that no compromise could be effected, abandoned their country, and most of them passed east of the Rocky Mountains. Nothing was left for the volunteers but to leave the country also, which they did, and the Cayuse War had practically ended.

The Cayuses, as a tribe, had no heart in the war. Joe Lewis told them immediately after the massacre that now they must fight, and advised them to send him to Salt Lake with a band of horses, to trade for ammunition with the Mormons. He started with a select band of animals, accompanied by two young braves; and a few days later one of them returned with the intelligence that Joe Lewis had killed his companion and decamped with the horses; and this was the last the Cayuses saw of the scheming villain. Thus matters stood until the spring of 1850, when the Cayuses were given to understand that peace could be procured by delivering up the murderers for punishment. At that time Tam-su-ky and his supporters, including many relatives who had not in any manner participated in the massacre, were hiding in the mountains at the head of John Day River. The Indians who desired peace went after

them, and a fight ensued, ending in the capture of nearly all of the outlawed band. In this fight "Cutmouth John," an Indian well known in Umatilla, while endeavoring to capture one of the murderers, received the wound which gave rise to his peculiar appellation. Only one of the five actually engaged in the bloody work at Waiilatpu (so the Whitman Indians assert) was captured, and he was Ta-ma-has, an ugly villain whom his countrymen called "The Murderer." It was he who commenced the work of death at Waiilatpu by burying a hatchet in Dr. Whitman's brain. Taking him and four others, several of the older men and chiefs went to Oregon City to deliver them up as hostages. They were at once thrown into prison, condemned and executed at Oregon City on June 3, 1850; and even the ones who had escorted them, in view of this summary proceeding, congratulated themselves upon their safe return. They believed that Ta-ma-has should have been hanged, but not the others; and to this opinion the few survivors of the tribe cling to the present day.

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CHAPTER XIX.

OREGON BECOMES AN ORGANIZED TERRITORY.

News Brought by Emigrants in 1847 very Disheartening—Letter of Senator Benton—J. Quinn Thornton Sent to Washington to Urge Legislation—Incidents of his Journey—Joseph L. Meek sent to Washington after the Whitman Massacre—His Mid-Winter Journey—Interesting Account of the Contest in the Senate over the Oregon Bill—General Joseph Lane Appointed Governor—His Trip Overland—Organization of the Government—Officers of the Old and New Governments—Census of 1849—Discovery of Gold in California—Beaver Money.

ALTHOUGH the treaty settling the boundary line was signed and proclaimed in the summer of 1846, Congress, the following winter, failed to pass any act creating a government for the people of Oregon, notwithstanding the fact that more than ten thousand Americans were thus denied the protection of the General Government. An appropriation, however, was made for mail service to Oregon *via* Panama; an Indian Agent was appointed, also a postmaster each for Astoria and Oregon City. One of these officials, Mr. Shively, brought with him two letters for the people of Oregon. One was from James Buchanan, Secretary of State, expressing the deep regret of President Polk that Congress had neglected them, and assuring them that he would do all in his power to aid them, including occasional visits from vessels of war and the presence of a regiment of dragoons to protect the emigrants. The other was from Thomas H. Benton, explaining the situation of affairs at Washington, where it was dated in March, 1847. Senator Benton's letter ran as follows:—

WASHINGTON CITY, March, 1847.

My friends (for such I may call many of you from personal acquaintance, all of you from my thirty years' devotion to the interests of your country)—I think it right to make this communication to you at the present moment when the adjournment of Congress, without passing the bill for your government and protection, seems to have left you in a state of abandonment by your mother country. But such is not the case. You are not abandoned! Nor will you be denied protection unless you agree to admit slavery. I, a man of the South, and a slaveholder, tell you this.

The House of Representatives, as early as the middle of January, had passed the bill to give you a territorial government; and in that bill had sanctioned and legalized your Provisional Organic Act, one of the clauses of which forever prohibited the existence of slavery in Oregon.

An amendment from the Senate's committee, to which this bill was referred, proposed to abrogate that prohibition; and in the delays and vexations to which that amendment gave rise, the whole bill was laid upon the table and lost for the session. This will be a great disappointment to you and a real calamity, already five years without law or legal institutions for the protection of life, liberty, and property, and now doomed to wait a year longer. This is a strange and anomalous condition, almost incredible to contemplate, and most critical to endure! A colony of free men, four thousand miles from the metropolitan government to preserve them! But do not be alarmed or desperate. You will not be outlawed for not admitting slavery.

Your fundamental act against that institution, copied from the Ordinance of 1787 (the work of the great men of the South, in the great day of the South, prohibiting slavery in a territory far less northern than yours), will not be abrogated! Nor is that the intention of the prime mover of the amendment. Upon the record of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate is the author of that amendment, but not so the fact. It is only midwife to it. Its author is the same mind that generated the "Fire Brand Resolutions," of which I send you a copy, and of which the amendment is the legitimate derivation. Oregon is not the object. The most rabid propagandist of slavery can not expect to plant it on the shores of the Pacific in the latitude of Wisconsin and the Lake of the Woods. A home agitation for election and disunion purposes, is all that is intended by thrusting this fire brand question into your bill as it ought to be. I promise you this in the name of the South, as well as of the North; and the event will not deceive me. In the meantime, the President will give you all the protection which existing laws can enable him to extend to you, and until Congress has time to act, your friends must rely upon you to continue to govern yourselves as you have heretofore done under the provisions of your own voluntary compact, and with the justice, harmony and moderation which is due to your own character and to the honor of the American name.

I send you, by Mr. Shively, a copy of the bill of the late session, both as it passed the House of Representatives and as proposed to be amended in the Senate, with the Senate's vote upon laying it on the table, and a copy of Mr. Calhoun's resolutions (posterior in date to the amendment, but nevertheless its father); also a copy of your own Provisional Organic Act, printed by order of the Senate; all of which will put you completely in possession of the proceedings of Congress on your petition for a territorial government, and for the protection and security of your rights.

In conclusion, I have to assure you that the same spirit which has made me the friend of Oregon for thirty years—which led me to denounce the joint occupation treaty the day it was made, and to oppose its renewal in 1828, and to labor for its abrogation until it was terminated; the same spirit which led me to reveal the

grand destiny of Oregon in articles written in 1818, and to support every measure for her benefit since—the same spirit still animates me and will continue to do so while I live—which I hope will be long enough to see an emporium of Asiatic commerce at the mouth of your river and a stream of Asiatic trade pouring into the valley of the Mississippi through the channel of Oregon.

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

The assurance contained in these letters that powerful friends were laboring in their interests, was a cheering thought amidst the disappointment of the unfavorable intelligence. It was felt that a representative direct from Oregon would be able to accomplish much, and Hon. J. Quinn Thornton, Supreme Judge of the Provisional Government, had been, during the past year, frequently urged by influential men, to proceed to Washington and labor with Congress in behalf of Oregon. In particular had the lamented Dr. Whitman requested him to do so, asserting that only the establishment of a strong Territorial Government, one that the Indians would recognize as powerful, would "save him and his mission from falling under the murderous hands of savages." Mr. Thornton recognized the importance of such a delegate, and solicited Hon. Peter H. Burnett, subsequently the first Governor of California, to undertake the mission, but without success. The news of the state of affairs at Washington brought by Mr. Shively, decided Mr. Thornton, and on the eighteenth of October, 1847, having resigned his judicial office, he departed on his arduous mission, armed with a letter from Governor Abernethy to President Polk. Mr. Thornton was by no means a regularly constituted delegate, since Oregon was not authorized to accredit such an official to Congress, but simply went as a private individual, representing in an unofficial manner the Governor and many of the prominent citizens of Oregon. In fact the Legislature, deeming its functions infringed upon by this action of the Governor, passed resolutions embodying their idea of the harm done the colony by the officiousness of "secret factions." There was not ready money enough in the treasury to have paid the passage of Mr. Thornton, even had it been at his disposal. A collection was taken up, contributions being made partly in coin but chiefly in flour, clothing, and any thing that could be of service or was convertible into money. A contract was made with Captain Roland Gelston, of the bark *Whitton*, to convey Mr. Thornton to

Panama, and the vessel sailed at once for San Francisco, and thence to San Juan, on the coast of Lower California. Here the Captain informed his passenger that he must decline to fulfill his contract, as he desired to engage in the coasting trade. From the perplexing dilemma he was extricated by Captain Montgomery, commanding the United States sloop of war *Portsmouth*, then lying at anchor in the harbor. This gentleman deemed the mission of Mr. Thornton of sufficient importance to the Government to justify him in leaving his station and returning with his vessel to the Atlantic Coast. He accordingly tendered the delegate the hospitalities of his cabin, and set sail as soon as preparations could be made for the voyage. The *Portsmouth* arrived in Boston Harbor on the second of May, 1848, and Mr. Thornton at once hastened to Washington to consult with President Polk and Senators Benton and Douglas, those warm champions of Oregon, as to the proper course to pursue. By them he was advised to prepare a memorial to be presented to Congress, setting forth the condition and needs of the people whom he represented. This he did, and the document was presented to the Senate by Mr. Benton and was printed for the use of both branches of Congress.

There was still another representative of the people of Oregon at Washington that session of Congress—one with even better credentials than Mr. Thornton. This was Joseph L. Meek, the mountaineer and trapper, who had taken such a prominent part in organizing the Provisional Government. When, about six weeks after the departure of Judge Thornton, the massacre of Whitman at Waiilatpu plunged the settlers into a state of mingled grief and alarm, it was thought necessary to dispatch a messenger at once to Washington to impart the intelligence, impress the authorities with the precarious situation of the colony, and appeal for protection. Winter had set in with all its rigors in the mountains. The terrible journey made at that season six years before by Dr. Whitman, on his patriotic mission, the same person whose martyrdom now rendered a second journey necessary, was fresh in the minds of all, and appalled the stoutest heart. Mr. Thornton had taken the longer, but safer, route by sea, but time was too precious, too much was at stake, to admit of the delay such a journey would impose, even if the vessel were at hand to afford the means. Nothing but

a trip across the thousands of miles of snow-bound mountains, plains and deserts, would be of any avail. In the emergency all turned to Joseph L. Meek as the one man in their midst whose intrepid courage, great powers of physical endurance, long experience in mountain life and familiarity with the routes of travel and Indian tribes to be encountered, rendered him capable of undertaking the task with a good prospect of success. Unhesitatingly he accepted the mission, resigned his seat in the Legislature, received his credentials as a delegate from that body, and set out on the fourth of January for Washington, accompanied by John Owens and George Ebbetts, who decided to go with him and avail themselves of his services as guide and director.

At The Dalles they were forced to delay several weeks until the arrival of the Oregon volunteers rendered it safe for them to proceed, since the whole upper country was overrun by hostile Indians. They accompanied the troops to Waiilatpu, where Meek had the mournful satisfaction of assisting in the burial of the victims of Cayuse treachery, among whom was his own daughter, and then were escorted by a company of troops to the base of the Blue Mountains, where they finally entered upon their long and solitary journey. By avoiding the Indians as much as possible, and whenever encountered by them representing themselves as Hudson's Bay Company men, they reached Fort Boise in safety. Here two of four new volunteers for the journey became discouraged and decided to remain. The other five travelers pushed on to Fort Hall, saving themselves from the clutches of the Bannacks only by Meek's experience in dealing with savages. It is needless to recount the many hardships they endured, the sleepless nights and dinnerless days, the accidents, dangers, fatigues, narrow escapes from hostile Indians and the thousand discomforts and misadventures to which they were subjected. It is sufficient to say through all these they passed in safety, never forgetting for an instant the imperative necessity for haste, and never flinching from the trials that lay in their pathway. The hearty invitation to spend a few weeks here or there in the few places where they encountered friends and comfortable quarters, was resolutely declined, and with only such delay as was absolutely required, they plunged again into the snowy mountain passes with their faces resolutely set towards the rising

sun. They reached St. Joseph in but little more than two months after leaving the Willamette Valley, having made the quickest trip across the continent that had yet been accomplished at any season of the year. Meek was now reduced to most embarrassing straits. Dressed in buckskin and blanket clothes and wolf skin cap, ragged and dirty in the extreme, beard and hair long and unkempt, without money or friends, how to get to Washington or how to conduct himself when there, were perplexing questions. He decided that the best way to accomplish his purpose was to be "Jo Meek." By assuming an air of great importance at one time, making a clown of himself at another, and generally interesting every one he met in himself and his mission, he succeeded in reaching Washington only a week or two later than Judge Thornton, though his news from Oregon was three months fresher. Meek was a relative of the President, and was well cared for during his stay in the Capital City. The intelligence brought by him, as well as his individual efforts, did much to aid Mr. Thornton and the friends of Oregon in Congress in securing the desired legislation.

In addition to the memorial, Judge Thornton drafted a bill for organizing a Territorial Government, which was introduced and placed upon its passage. This bill contained a clause prohibiting slavery, and for this reason was as objectionable to the slaveholding force in Congress as had been the previous one. Under the lead of Senators Jefferson Davis and John C. Calhoun, this wing of the National Legislature made a vigorous onslaught upon the bill, and fought its progress step by step with unabated determination, resorting to all the legislative tactics known, to so delay its consideration that it could not be finally passed by the hour of noon on the fourteenth of August, the time fixed by joint resolution for the close of that session of Congress. The contest during the last two days of the session was exciting in the extreme, and the feeling intense throughout the Union. The friends of the bill had decided upon a policy of "masterly inactivity," refraining entirely from debate and yielding the floor absolutely to the "filibusters," who were therefore much distressed for means to consume the slowly passing hours. Though silent in speech they were constantly present in force to prevent the opposition from gaining time by an adjournment. The bill was then on its second passage in the Sen-

ate, for the purpose of concurrence with amendments which had been added by the House. On Saturday morning, August 12, the managers of the bill decided to prevent an adjournment until it had been disposed of, having a sufficient majority to pass it. The story of that memorable contest is thus told by Mr. Thornton, who sat throughout the scene an earnest spectator:—

I re-entered the Senate Chamber with the deepest feelings of solicitude, and yet hopeful because of the assurances which had been given to me by the gentleman I have named [Douglas, Benton and Hale.] I soon saw, however, that Calhoun and Butler, of South Carolina; Davis and Foote, of Mississippi; and Hunter and Mason, of Virginia, as leaders of the opposition, had girded up their loins and buckled on their armor for the battle.

When I explain a little the reader will not be surprised that I felt very nervous. The bill had previously been in the Senate and having passed went down to the House where it was amended, and now it had come back for concurrence. The debate when the bill was first in the Senate was one of thrilling interest. "There were giants in those days," and the field on which they fought and measured strength with each other was one in which no man could be at a loss to find a foe man worthy of his steel, since here might be encountered such mighty men as Douglas and Benton, Webster, Calhoun and Corwin. The last named gentleman having gotten the floor in the debate on the Oregon bill, the Senate adjourned. In this manner it became known at once throughout the city that Mr. Corwin would on the next day, after the preliminary business of the morning hour had been disposed of, address the Senate on that bill—the provision in it taken from the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery being the point of his departure, and human rights the subject of his address. At an early hour the gallery was literally packed full of the elite and beauty of the capital, most of them being brought hither by an unconquerable desire to witness the triumph of right over wrong and of reason over passion which they felt sure would be achieved by their favorite orator's burning words consuming to ashes the sophisms relied upon by the advocates of slavery to defend the most gigantic evil that ever cursed a nation or stained its escutcheon. On the floor of the Senate were diplomatic representatives from every Court in Europe, already impatient to drink in the inspiration of the wonderful eloquence of an orator who had no equal in some respects and no superior in any.

The preliminary business of the morning hour having been hurried through, Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, rose to his feet; and during two hours commencing with his saying "Mr. President," and ending with the close of his wonderful address, no other sound was heard save occasionally that of one who seemed to catch at his breath, and no movement could be seen save in the varying muscles of the faces of the listening hearers as the orator's matchless manner, melodious voice, and ready command of most apt language alternately melted the heart into pity or kindled it into resentment, while, with inimitable skill and unequalled power, he portrayed "the sum of all villainies."

This description of the effects of the address does not of course apply to such of his hearers as were the advocates of "the patriarchal institution." The faces of these seemed at times to be as much blanched with fear as would that of a nervous woman on being suddenly confronted by a death's head. At other times the face was equally white, yet the compressed lips, and the flashing eye and a peculiar expression of the countenance as clearly as language could speak, showed that the heart was a burning volcano of the most fiery passions in the throes of a terrible eruption.

When Mr. Corwin closed his memorable speech, there seemed to be quite an interval before those who heard gained their self-recollection, and a motion was made for the adjournment of the Senate. As, with others, I was slowly and thoughtfully retiring, Father Richie, the most venerable journalist in the United States, a lifelong advocate of slavery, and at that time editor of the government organ, nervously laid his hand upon my shoulder, and with lips as white as paper and quivering with emotion, he said: "A few speeches such as that would sever the bonds of this Union!"

With such a scene as this fresh in my memory, the reader will not be surprised if on Saturday morning, the 12th of August, 1848, I felt, after my interview with Mr. Benton, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Hale, anxious for the results of the day's proceedings on the bill returned for concurrence in the amendments made in the House.

The friends of the bill, led by Mr. Benton, having taken their position, waited calmly for the onset of their adversaries, who spent Saturday until the usual hour of adjournment in skirmishing in force, as if feeling the strength of their opponents. When the motion was made at the usual time in the afternoon for adjournment, the friends of the bill came pouring out of the retiring rooms, and on coming inside the bar they voted *No* with very marked emphasis. I ought, perhaps to explain that when many of the friends of the Oregon bill went into this room to rest upon lounges, and to smoke and chat and tell anecdotes, they left behind a trusty corps to observe the movements of the enemy, and through a vigilant page stationed at the door to give notice when it was necessary, to rise and rush inside the bar to vote *No* on all motions for adjournment.

This state of affairs continued until after night when Judge Butler, of South Carolina, being the colleague of Mr. Calhoun, resorted to a sort of legislative filibustering with a view to thrusting aside the Oregon bill, under a motion to go into executive session for the purpose of enquiring into the conduct of Mr. Benton, who, he alleged, had communicated to Dr. Wallace, the reporter of the New York *Herald*, some things that had been said and done in secret session. During his remarks, Judge Butler characterized Mr. Benton's conduct as being "*dishonorable*." This word had only been pronounced when Mr. Benton sprang to his feet in great anger, and advancing rapidly toward Judge Butler with his clenched fist and violently gesticulating, said: "You lie, sir! You lie!! I cram the lie down your throat!!!" Both men wore long hair that age had made as white as wool, and yet they were only kept from violence on the floor of the Senate Chamber by Gen. Dix, of New York, Mason, of Virginia, and others, who, by placing themselves between the venerable Senators, prevented them from coming to blows. Thus restrained, Judge Butler said to Mr. Benton in a very loud and angry tone, "I will see you, sir, at another time and place." Mr. Benton immediately rejoined in great heat, "Yes, sir, you can see me at any other time and in any other place; but you and your friends will take notice that when I fight, I fight for a funeral."

Order being at length restored, the vote was taken on Judge Butler's motion to go into executive session, and the real object of the motion being seen to be the defeat of the Oregon bill through the consumption of time, it was lost.

Gen. Foote, the colleague of Jeff. Davis, then arose and in a drawling tone, assumed for the occasion, said his powers of endurance he believed would enable him to continue his address to the Senate until Monday, 12 o'clock M., and although he could not promise to say much on the subject of the Oregon bill, he could not doubt that he would be able to interest and greatly edify distinguished Senators. The friends of the bill, seeing what was before them, posted a page in the doorway opening into one of the retiring rooms, and then, after detaching a few of their number to keep watch and ward on the floor of the Senate, withdrew into the room of which

I have spoken to chat and tell anecdotes and to drink wine, or, perhaps, something even much stronger, and thus to wear away the slowly and heavily passing hours of that memorable Saturday night. Soon great clouds of smoke filled the room, and from it issued the sound of the clink of glasses and of loud conversation, almost drowning the eloquence of the Mississippi Senator as he repeated the Bible story of the cosmogony of the world, the creation of man, the taking from his side the rib from which Eve was made, her talking with the "snake," as he called the Evil One, the fall of man, etc., etc. The galleries were soon deserted. Many of the aged Senators prostrated themselves upon the sofas in one of the retiring rooms, and slumbered soundly, while "thoughts that breathed and words that burned" fell in glowing eloquence from the lips of the Mississippi Senator, as he continued thus to instruct and edify the few watching friends of the bill, who, notwithstanding the weight of seventy winters pressed heavily upon some of them, were as wide awake as the youngest, and they sat firm and erect in their seats, watching with lynx eyes every movement of the adversaries of the bill.

At intervals of about one hour, the speaker would yield the floor to a motion for adjournment, coming from the opposition. Then the sentinel page at the door would give notice to the waking Senators in the retiring room, and these would immediately arouse the slumbering Senators, and all would then rush pell-mell through the doorway, and when the inside of the bar was reached, would vote *No* with a thundering emphasis.

It happened, however, on more occasions than one, that a sleeping Senator, not yet quite awake, even after getting inside the bar, voted "aye," then "nay," and then "aye," and finally "nay" again, to the great amusement of those who were sufficiently wide awake to see where the laugh came in.

Occasionally southern Senators toward Sunday morning relieved Gen. Foote by short, dull speeches, to which the friends of the bill vouchsafed no answer; so that Mr. Calhoun and his pro-slavery subordinates had things for the most part all their own way until Sabbath morning, August 13th, 1848, at about 8 o'clock, when the leading opponents of the bill collected together in a knot, and after conversing together a short time in an under tone, the Mississippi Senator, who had been so very edifying and entertaining during the night, said that no further opposition would be made to taking a vote on the bill. The ayes and nays were then called and the bill passed.

President Polk affixed his signature to the bill within a few hours after its passage. To have the Territorial Government fully organized before the expiration of his term of office on the fourth of the succeeding March, was earnestly desired by him, in view of the circumstances attending his election. He appointed Meek the United States Marshal of the new Territory, and delegated him to convey the Governor's commission to General* Joseph Lane, then residing in Indiana and unaware of the duty about to be imposed upon him, for such, under the circumstances, it really was. With that promptness of decision and energy of action so characteristic of him—qualities which won him the title of the "Marion of the Mexican War"—General Lane accepted the commission without hesitation, and in three days had disposed of his property, wound

up his business affairs, and begun his journey to the far-off wilds of Oregon. A small detachment of troops escorted the Governor and Marshal, and after a journey of six months, by the way of Mexico and Arizona, seven only of them reached San Francisco, two having died and the others succumbed to the allurements of the new gold fields of the Sierras. These seven were Governor Lane, Marshal Meek, Lieutenant Hawkins, Surgeon Hayden, and three enlisted men. At San Francisco they took passage on the schooner *Jeannette*, and reached the Columbia after a rough passage of eighteen days. Ascending the Columbia and Willamette in small boats, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, they debarked at Oregon City on the second of March, 1849. The following day Governor Lane issued a proclamation and assumed the duties of his office, having succeeded in instituting the Government just one day prior to the close of President Polk's administration. Other officers of the Territory did not arrive till several months later. The following is a roster of the first officers of the Territorial Government, and those of the Provisional Government at the time of its dissolution :—

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Governor, George Abernethy ; Secretary, S. M. Holderness ; Treasurer, John H. Couch ; Auditor, Geo. W. Bell (Public Accounts), Theophilus McGruder (Territorial); Supreme Judge, J. Quinn Thornton ; Circuit Judge, Alonzo A. Skinner ; Marshal, H. M. Knighton.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

Governor, Joseph Lane ; Secretary, Kintzing Pritchett ; Treasurer, *James Taylor ; Auditor, *B. Gervais ; Chief Justice, William C. Bryant ; Associate Justices, O. C. Pratt, P. H. Burnett ; Marshal, Joseph Meek ; Superintendent of Schools, *Jas. McBride ; Librarian, *W. T. Matlock ; Territorial Printer, *Wilson Blain ; Commissioner of Cayuse War Claims, *Alonzo A. Skinner.

One of the first acts of Governor Lane was to appoint marshals to take the census, as provided in the organic act. The following table shows the population as thus ascertained :—

*Appointed by Legislature, September 30, 1849.

COUNTIES.	Males under 21 years of age.	Males 21 years and over.	Females of all ages.	Foreigners.			Total number of citizens.	Total number of foreigners.	Total.
				Males under 21 years.	Males 21 and over.	Females of all ages.			
Clackamas.....	401	360	585		12	5	1376	17	1393
Tualatin.....	340	293	468	4	23	8	1107	35	1142
Champoeg.....	465	458	647	5	94	13	1570	112	1682
Clatsop.....	49	100	75		3		224	3	227
Yamhill.....	394	402	557	3	8	4	1353	15	1368
Polk.....	337	327	509		1		1173	1	1174
Lewis.....	39	33	37	1	31	4	109	36	145
Linn.....	295	269	359				923		923
Benton.....	271	229	370				870		870
Vancouver.....	4	22	20	2	39	12	80	79	159
Total.....	2601	2523	3627	15	211	46	8795	298	9083

While Thornton and Meek were representing the people at Washington, an event occurred that in a few years wrought a marvelous change on the Pacific Coast. Captain John A. Sutter, a Swiss, had come to Oregon in 1838 and the following year gone to California, where he founded a settlement on the site of the present City of Sacramento, which he named "New Helvetia," though it was known far and wide as "Sutter's Fort." In the Oregon immigration of 1844 was James W. Marshall, who went to California the following year and entered the employ of Captain Sutter. In the fall of 1847 Marshall and Sutter entered into a partnership to do a saw-mill business, and Marshall went up into the Sierra Nevada Mountains and selected a location for the mill at Coloma, a place on the South Fork of the American River. It was on the nineteenth of January, 1848, that Marshall discovered gold in the tailrace of the mill. As soon as this news was spread throughout California, nearly every able-bodied man hastened to Coloma, work of every kind being abandoned and much property sacrificed. The excitement was intense. The news of Marshall's wonderful discovery was carried East by the various routes of travel, and hundreds of emigrants learned of it while slowly plodding along on the Oregon trail, and were thus induced to change their destination to California. For several years thereafter overland emigration was almost exclusively to the gold fields of California. The intelligence did not reach Oregon till August, seven months after the discovery. There were then no regular means of communication

between the Sacramento Valley and the Willamette. Every year a few people followed the old Hudson's Bay Company trail, some one way and some the other, and occasionally coasting or other vessels came to the Columbia from San Francisco; but the excitement of the gold discovery prevented the news from reaching Oregon by either of these routes, until it was finally brought by a vessel which came for a cargo of supplies for the San Francisco market. The effect produced upon such an adventurous class as were the early pioneers, can well be imagined. There was at once a rush for California, chiefly overland, as vessels were scarce, and it seemed as though Oregon would become depopulated. But this was only temporary. Family and business ties were strong enough to hold back many and to hasten the return of others. Not only was Oregon not depopulated, but she found in California the first outside market for her products she had ever enjoyed. It was for her the beginning of actual prosperity. Besides the gold dust brought back by returning miners, California gold poured into Oregon in a perfect stream, in exchange for grain, flour, vegetables, beef, bacon, and food products of all kinds. Miners pushed further north every year, until, in 1851, they crossed the line into Southern Oregon, and discovered rich diggings. After the first excitement subsided, emigration again turned in the direction of Oregon, while great numbers, abandoning the gold fields, came north to settle in the beautiful valley of the Willamette.

The scarcity of money had always been a serious evil, increasing yearly with the population. When, in the winter of 1848-9, gold dust began to arrive from California, the material for such a medium was at hand; but, though the gold dust was worth from sixteen to eighteen dollars an ounce, returning miners could obtain but eleven dollars for it, while much of it was lost in passing from hand to hand. The Legislature promptly passed an act for the "assaying, melting and coining of gold," but the termination of the Provisional Government by the arrival of Governor Lane, rendered the statute nugatory. Private enterprise stepped to the front and supplied the want by issuing what is known as "beaver money," somewhat after the manner in which the "gold slugs" of California were issued. These coins were of five and ten dollar denominations, bearing on the obverse side the figure of a beaver, above

which were the letters "K. M. T. A. W. R. C. S.," and beneath "O. T., 1849." On the reverse side was "Oregon Exchange Company, 130 Grains Native Gold, 5 D," or "10 pwts., 20 grains, 10 D." The initial letters were those of the gentlemen composing the company-- Kilbourn, Magruder, Taylor, Abernethy, Wilson, Rector, Campbell and Smith. The workmanship on the coin was quite creditable. The dies were made by Hamilton Campbell, and the press and rolling machinery by William Rector. When money became more plentiful, the beaver coins quickly disappeared from circulation, since they contained about eight per cent. more gold than the national coins, and are now only to be found as mementoes in the possession of pioneers, in cabinets or among the collections of numismatologists. No one was ever prosecuted for this infringement of the constitutional prohibition of the coining of money by State Governments or individuals.

CHAPTER XX.

OREGON AS A TERRITORY.

Organization of the Territorial Government—First Legislature—Towns in Oregon in 1850—A Military Episode—John P. Gaines Succeeds General Lane as Governor—Inharmony between Democratic Legislature and Whig Officers—Three Newspapers Enter the Field—The Steamer "Lot Whitcomb"—Oregon City and Salem Contest for the Capital—Wreck of the "General Warren"—Indian Troubles in 1851-2-3—George L. Curry becomes Governor—Efforts to Form a State Constitution—Colville Mines—Indian War of 1855-6—Political Complications—Fraser River Excitement—Oregon Admitted to the Union.

OREGON remained in the Territorial state for ten years, suffering all the evils of partisan government and political strife. The people early aspired to the rights and dignity of statehood, and the question of framing a constitution was ever present in politics. The adjoining State of California was admitted into the Union under phenomenal conditions, without passing through the Territorial stage, and this did much to render the people of Oregon discontented with a Territorial government. But the most prolific cause of discontent was the length of time required to communicate with the seat of government at Washington. All laws passed by the Legislature were subject to disapproval by Congress, and it took several months to learn whether an act would not be thus rendered void. The same delay occurred in filling official vacancies, in imparting instructions for the guidance of officers, and in transacting all business requiring communication between the Territorial authorities and those at Washington. It was certainly an unwieldy and cumbersome form of government, and the people necessarily found it irksome and repulsive.

Governor Lane called an election for the sixth of June, 1849, to choose a Delegate to Congress and members of the Territorial Legislature. The total vote cast for Delegate was 943, of which Samuel R. Thurston received 470; Columbia Lancaster, 321; James W. Nesmith, 104; Joseph L. Meek, 40; J. S. Griffin, 8. The apportionment of Councilmen and Representatives was made by the Governor in his proclamation. The names of the gentlemen elected to the first Territorial Legislature were as follows: *Council*—W. Blain, Tualatin; W. W. Buck, Clackamas; S. Parker, Clackamas and Champoe; W. Shannon, Champoe; S. F. McKean, Clatsop, Lewis and Vancouver; J. B. Graves, Yamhill; W. Maley, Linn; N. Ford, Polk; L. A. Humphrey, Benton. *Representatives*—D. Hill and W. M. King, Tualatin; A. L. Lovejoy, J. D. Holman and Gabriel Walling, Clackamas; J. W. Grim, W. W. Chapman and W. T. Matlock, Champoe; A. J. Hembree, R. C. Kinney and J. B. Walling, Yamhill; J. Dunlap and J. Conser, Linn; H. N. V. Holmes and S. Burch, Polk; M. T. Simmons, Lewis, Vancouver and Clatsop; J. L. Mulkey and G. B. Smith, Benton.

The Legislature assembled at Oregon City, July 16, 1849, and held a brief session, in which they apportioned their future membership; changed the names of Champoe, Tualatin and Vancouver counties to "Marion," "Washington," and "Clarke," respectively; decided what officers the various counties should have, and provided for their election the following October, and divided the Territory into three judicial districts. In October the county elections were held and the officers chosen qualified immediately. This was the last step in the complete organization of the government under the Oregon Bill.

The year 1850 opened auspiciously for Oregon. A custom house had been established at Astoria, and regular steamer communication opened between the accessible ports on the Willamette and San Francisco. Oregon contained then a dozen aspiring towns—Astoria, St. Helens, Milton (one and one-half miles above St. Helens), Portland, Milwaukie, Oregon City, Champoe, Syracuse, Albany, Marysville (Corvallis), Cincinnati, Hillsboro, Lafayette, Salem, Lexington (on Clatsop Plains). Between Milwaukie and Portland there was much rivalry, each aspiring to be the head of permanent navigation for ocean steamers; and this was shared

at times by St. Helens, as well as other ambitious points which never acquired much greater dignity than a mere name. It was found that navigation to Milwaukie was not practicable in low-water season, and even Portland was considered as too far up at one time, owing to the troublesome bar at Swan Island. The steamship company decided to make St. Helens, or Columbia City (a new town below the mouth of the Willamette), the terminus, but were quickly brought back to Portland by a movement on the part of the merchants of that city to establish an opposition line. Since then, with but one exception, the ocean steamship terminus has remained constantly at the city of Portland.

The military headquarters were at Oregon City in 1849-50, and at that point the greater portion of the First Mounted Rifles were stationed, the remainder taking post at Vancouver, Astoria and on Puget Sound. The regiment was commanded by Colonel Loring, afterwards General, who achieved a reputation in Egypt, as Loring Pasha. Early in the spring of 1850, a majority of the men succumbed to the seductive influence of the gold excitement and deserted. Fully four hundred of them started for the California mines, and at Eugene City fortified themselves so that the soldiers and citizens who pursued them could not effect their capture. They then started south in small bands. Governor Lane was appealed to by the commanding officer, and hastily collecting a company of volunteers he pursued and overtook a body of them in Rogue River Valley, who surrendered to him without resistance. Of the four hundred deserters, two hundred and sixty were thus captured, the remainder succeeding in reaching California and losing themselves among the miners.

In April, 1850, Governor Lane received notification that he had been removed by the Whig President, Taylor, and Major John P. Gaines appointed in his place on the second of the previous October. On the twenty-seventh of May, he wrote to the Secretary of War that he was about to start for Rogue River, to make a treaty with the Indians of that region, which he hoped to conclude by the eighteenth of June, and this date he fixed as the termination of his official duties. The new Governor had not yet arrived, and Gov. Lane set out immediately. He came to an amicable understanding with this turbulent tribe, and then passed into California to try his

fortune in the mines. It was during this time that the Cayuse hostages were tried and executed at Oregon City, the uncertainty as to whether he was still in Oregon or not preventing the Secretary from assuming any authority.

The general election for county officers and members of the Legislature was held in June. The new Territorial officers arrived in August, September, October and November—Governor Gaines assuming his duties on the nineteenth of September, being careful, however, to draw his salary from the date of his appointment, nearly a year before. The other new officials were: Edward Hamilton, Secretary; John McLean and William Strong, Judges; Amory Holbrook, United States Attorney; John Adair, Collector of Customs; Henry H. Spalding, Indian Agent; Joseph L. Meek retained the office of Marshal. The Legislature assembled in December; being strongly Democratic in its composition, a want of harmony was at once developed between it and the Whig Territorial officers. In some respects this was the most important legislative session ever held in Oregon. But little had been accomplished the previous year, and it devolved upon this session to give Oregon a code of laws, and legislate for the radically new state of affairs brought about by a Territorial form of government, and the great increase in population and the sudden commercial awakening. It was composed of the leading and representative men of the Territory, and ably performed its function.

Three newspapers sprang into being in the winter of 1850-51. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1850, the first number of the *Western Star* appeared at Milwaukie, then a formidable rival of Portland for metropolitan honors. Lot Whitcomb was the publisher, John Orvis Waterman the editor, and Waterman and W. D. Carter the printers. On the fourth of December, Thomas J. Dryer began the publication of the *Oregonian* at Portland. A prospectus for a paper at Oregon City had been issued by — Russell the fall before, also by Asahel Bush, but as they had no material they were compelled to delay publication. Mr. Bush was elected Public Printer by the Legislature, notwithstanding the fact that he was utterly without facilities for discharging the duties of the office, while the *Star* and *Oregonian* were ignored. In March his material arrived, and the first number of the *Statesman* was issued at Oregon

City. Mr. Bush was a representative Democrat, and the *Statesman* for years, while under his control, was the mouthpiece and official organ of the dominant faction of the Democratic party. The *Star* was also Democratic, but did not enjoy such a generous proportion of the "loaves and fishes" as did the official organ. The *Oregonian* was a Whig paper of the most pronounced type, and Mr. Dryer was a man of strong prejudices, energetic character and fiery disposition. He had but one standard of measurement—political opinion. Everything that savored of Whiggery was good, while anything in the least tainted with Democracy was vile. The papers were full of politics and personal abuse, based upon political conduct—the *Oregonian* and *Statesman* presenting the most marked antagonism. It was then the "Oregon style" of journalism had its birth, and flourished like the product of the mustard seed for a series of years. Argument gave way to invective; intelligent discussion of political affairs there was none; the presentation of the most trivial piece of news was done in such a manner that its truth was made of secondary importance to its political effect, and even the most common of the social amenities were lost in the whirlpool of political animosity. Whatever may be said of other things as compared with pioneer days, there has certainly been a vast and most gratifying improvement in the character of Oregon journalism.

In the fall of 1850, Lot Whitcomb began, at Milwaukie, the construction of a small steamer to ply upon the Willamette and Columbia, the pioneer of the great fleet which, in later years, bore the whole inland commerce of this region. A public meeting was held in the hall of the House of Representatives at Oregon City, early in December, at which it was decided to name the steamer the "Lot Whitcomb of Oregon," and a stand of colors was presented to the enterprising owner. On Christmas day the little craft was launched, amid the peal of cannon and the cheers of a great crowd of people who had assembled to witness the event, Governor Gaines formally christening her as above. This was followed by a grand ball in the evening. When the salute was fired, Captain Frederick Morse, of the schooner *Merchantman*, which was then in port, was killed by the bursting of a cannon. The steamer, a month later, made a trial trip, with a company of invited guests, to Vancouver and Astoria. She then took her place as a passenger and freight

boat, and did excellent service. Captain Whitecomb retired from the *Star*, and in June, 1851, Waterman & Carter moved it to Portland, and changed its name to the *Oregon Weekly Times*, being led to take this step by the plainly apparent fact that Portland was the coming metropolis of Oregon.

On the ninth of April, 1851, Samuel R. Thurston, Delegate to Congress, while on his way back to Oregon, died on board the steamer *California*, while between Panama and Acapulco, and was buried at the latter place. The news reached Oregon a few weeks later—a month prior to the general election at which his successor was to be elected—and caused a general expression of sorrow from the people. At its next session the Legislature bestowed his name upon a county north of the Columbia River, now a portion of Washington Territory, and later defrayed the expense of bringing his body to Oregon for burial. The general election was held on the second of June, and General Lane, who had returned from the mines of Northern California, became the Democratic candidate for Delegate to Congress. He received 2,093 votes, while only 548 were cast for William H. Willson, his Whig opponent.

There were other things than politics to interest the people in 1851 and 1852. Early in 1851, gold was discovered in Southern Oregon; several thousands of miners crowded into the diggings on the tributaries of Rogue River, and the town of Jacksonville sprang suddenly into existence. This opened a new market for Oregon products, and added greatly to the prosperity of the Willamette Valley. In an effort to find a suitable seaport for a base of supplies for the new mines, the Umpqua River was entered and several towns laid out, the most important of which was Scottsburg. The following year Douglas and Jackson counties were organized, from which Coos, Curry and Josephine were, in later years, cut off. The mines in Northern California, at Yreka (then called Shasta Butte City), and along Klamath and Scott rivers, also drew heavily upon the Willamette Valley for support. The discovery of gold in the Rogue River region led to the immediate occupation of choice locations in the valley by farmers, who raised hay, grain and vegetables for the mines. Quite a number of these locations were made in 1851, and in two or three years the best part of the valley was occupied. In the Umpqua region, also, settlements, which were but

few prior to 1850, began to be more numerous, and in a few years quite a population was found in Southern Oregon, exclusive of those engaged in mining. The Indians of Rogue River Valley had shown a hostile spirit ever since the first Americans passed through their country, as has been shown in the narrative of several early events, and numerous collisions occurred between them and parties passing to and fro between the mines and the Willamette Valley; several men were killed in this way, and many pack and saddle animals stolen. Brevet Major (afterwards General) Phil. Kearney, while passing through that region, on his way from Vancouver to Benicia, with two companies of troops, was appealed to for aid in punishing the Indians. They came upon the savages on the bank of the river ten miles above Table Rock. Captain Walker took his company of infantrymen across the river, to get in the rear of the enemy, while Captain Stewart dismounted his dragoons and made an attack upon the rancheria. The Indians fled with the loss of several of their number. The only casualty on the part of the troops was the death of Captain Stewart, a gallant officer who had won distinction in the Mexican War, who was shot with an arrow by a wounded Indian after the battle was over. Later in the day a more severe battle was fought.

Kearney was soon joined by Major Alvord, who, with a military escort, was engaged in surveying a route for a military road through Southern Oregon. With him was Jesse Applegate. General Lane happened to be passing through the country with a number of others, and upon hearing the news at once hastened to the aid of the military. The united force of soldiers and civilians then set out in pursuit of the savages. In a short time they came upon a party of them, who fled upon being charged, and escaped in the chaparral, leaving one of their number dead on the ground. Late in the evening another band was encountered and several were wounded, while twelve women and children were captured. The next day a long march revealed no enemy. The troops then continued their march south, and the civilians returned to their homes and mines, or resumed their uninterrupted journeys. Soon afterwards Governor Gaines went to Rogue River Valley and negotiated a treaty with a portion of the Indians, assigning them a reservation north of the river. Soon afterwards Dr. Anson Dart was designated

Superintendent of Indian Affairs by the President, and he appointed A. A. Skinner agent for the Indians of that region. In spite of the treaty, trouble continued to arise between the incoming settlers and the native proprietors. A detachment of troops was stationed at Port Orford, under the impression that it was the nearest practicable route to the valley, though it was soon discovered that communication between those two points was difficult and hazardous. There had been trouble at Port Orford, and a party of men had been besieged on Battle Rock in that harbor. An exploring expedition from Rogue River Valley to the coast, headed by W. G. TVault, had met with disaster; consequently, Lieutenant-Colonel Casey led a detachment of troops up Coquille River, and severely punished the hostile Indians.

Early in the summer of 1852, the Rogue River Indians began to give signs of an intention to go on the war path, and Agent Skinner arranged for a peace talk to settle all cause of grievance. A company of men, commanded by J. K. Lamerick, went to the Big Bend, the scene of the proposed conference. There they met a small company, under Judge Elijah Steele, who had come over from Yreka in search of two Indian murderers. During the progress of the council a fight began and thirteen Indians were killed. The next day, after a brief conflict, the Indians expressed a desire to make peace, and it was agreed that hostilities should cease. A few weeks later the Modocs began massacring emigrants who were passing through their country around Tulé Lake. Two companies from Yreka, under Charles McDermitt and Ben Wright, and one from Jacksonville, under John E. Ross, hastened to the scene of difficulty, buried the mangled bodies of two score emigrants, guarded the incoming trains, and severely chastised the savages. In the fall of 1852 it was decided to establish a military post for the protection of Northern California and Southern Oregon. Major Fitzgerald accordingly built Fort Jones, in Scott Valley, and garrisoned it with his company of dragoons. He was soon succeeded in command by Captain B. R. Alden. The subsequent hostilities in that region are related in another chapter.

On the thirty-first of January, 1852, the steamer *General Warren* was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia River. She sailed from Astoria for San Francisco on the twenty-eighth of January,

and was safely taken to sea by the bar pilot, Captain George Flavel. On the second day out she met with heavy weather and began to make water so alarmingly that the captain, Charles Thompson, put about for the purpose of returning to Astoria, as she had made but slight progress. Captain Flavel was picked up off the bar and took the steamer across, but when just inside she refused to mind her helm and drifted upon Sand Island. She again floated into deep water, when it was discovered that she would sink within a few minutes. As a last resort, Captain Thompson ordered the pilot to beach the vessel on Clatsop Spit. As soon as she struck, the sea began to break over her. This was at seven o'clock in the evening, and two hours later she broke in two. The passengers and crew clung to the wreck with the hope that it would hold together until morning, but at about three o'clock Captain Thompson selected a crew of ten men, and putting them in the only boat left, requested Captain Flavel to take command and go for aid. After a long and exceedingly hazardous trip they reached Astoria, sent a volunteer crew back to the wreck in a whale boat and followed in another one themselves. When they reached Clatsop Spit they were unable to discover even a vestige of the steamer. She had broken in pieces and been swept out to sea with the forty-two human beings who had clung to her. The steamer was an unseaworthy hulk that should have been condemned long before.

The immigration of 1852 was very large. The tide which had turned towards California during the few years immediately following the discovery of gold, now set in towards Oregon again. Practical experience in the mines had served to dispel, in a measure, the glamour surrounding them, and people with their eyes turned westward began to realize that the homestead the government generously offered them in Oregon was preferable to the hazardous occupation of a miner. Many of them came with the intention of first locating a permanent home in the beautiful Willamette Valley and then make a trip to the mines to "try their luck," returning again to their land claim when satisfied with their experience with the rocker and sluice-box. The season was dry, and the great throng of cattle and horses soon disposed of every vestige of grass along the route, so that thousands of stock coming later in the summer famished and died, their putrid carcasses marking the route for those

who came after. There was much sickness, too, among the emigrants, caused by scarcity of water and food, for the slow progress made by the enfeebled cattle caused the supplies in many of the wagons to give out long before the Columbia was reached, while some emigrants whose stock all died had to struggle along on foot with only such food as could be packed upon their backs. When news of the famishing condition of the emigrants reached the Willamette, the people held public meetings in various places, to receive donations of money and supplies, and appoint commissioners to attend to their proper distribution. Flour and beef-cattle were the chief form in which aid was sent. Headquarters were established at The Dalles, and men went out on the route as far as the Grand Ronde Valley to carry food to those who were suffering. This movement of the people was spontaneous and unselfish in the highest degree, and the men who gave their services did so without asking or receiving any reward whatever; and yet loud complaints were made by some of the emigrants because they did not receive as large a share as they deemed themselves entitled to. At the Umatilla Agency—then called "Utilla"—Sylvester and John B. Hall interviewed the emigrants as they passed by, and took the name, age, and former residence of those who had died on the route. Their list, which must have been nearly complete, contained one hundred and twenty-one names, nearly all adults, chiefly from Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, and was published in Portland on the eleventh of December, 1852. It may be found by referring to the old files of the *Times*, or *Oregonian*. Another list, taken from the Sacramento *Union*, was published in the *Times*, November 20, 1852, giving names of those who died in the California trains, but embracing the losses of the entire emigration east of Fort Hall.

On the first of January, 1853, and for a day or two following, occurred a disastrous flood in the Willamette. Heavy falls of snow in December were followed by copious warm rains, converting every brook into a foaming torrent and the river into a raging flood. The steamer *Lot Whitcomb* was wrecked near Milwaukie, but was afterwards raised and repaired. At Oregon City, the old Abernethy store, McLoughlin's saw mill, the Island bridge, and other objects were washed away. General Palmer's mill, at Dayton, was carried down the stream, a number of tenements at Linn City started on a

voyage to the Columbia, and much damage was done all along the stream. During the severe weather which preceded the flood, large numbers of cattle, horses and mules died on the plains east of The Dalles. Many of them had been left there by the emigrants, to be grazed during the winter, while others belonged to men who had already gone into the cattle business on those since famous bunch-grass ranges. But a small percentage of the stock survived.

The Legislature assembled at Salem in December, 1852, as did also the Supreme Court, the Whigs having been convinced that Salem was the legal seat of government. The Democrats still maintained a political ascendancy, and when Governor Gaines addressed them a long gubernatorial message at the opening of the session, they declined to receive it, on the ground that as the Governor was not required to sign acts passed by them, and did not even possess the veto power, he was in no sense a portion of the legislative branch of the government, and had no more right to inflict them with messages than any private citizen. Had the executive been of the right political faith they would, no doubt, have listened to a message from him as long as the moral law. During the session the subject of a State constitution was much discussed, and a bill providing for the holding of a convention passed the house, but died in the senate.

The question of a division of the Territory also received the attention of the Legislature. Oregon at that time contained three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles, equal in area to the six great States of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin, by far too large for admission into the Union as a single State. Through it ran the great Columbia River, dividing it into nearly equal northern and southern parts, from the ocean to old Fort Walla Walla, where the stream made a long sweep to the north. The great centers of population were the Willamette, Umpqua and Rogue River valleys. The region north and west of the Columbia was known as "Northern Oregon," and, during the previous five or six years, had become quite populous. Quite extensive shipments of coal, lumber and fish were being made from Puget Sound, on which three saw mills had already been established. The chief settlements in Northern Oregon at that time were: Pacific City and Chinook, near the mouth of the Columbia; Vancouver, occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company and a large number of employes,

United States troops, and many Americans who had settled in or near the town; Forts Walla Walla, Okinagan and Colville, further up the Columbia; Fort Nisqually, on the Sound, belonging to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company; Olympia; New Market, or Tumwater; Steilacoom, and Port Townsend, on the Sound, and many locations for agricultural purposes, especially along the Cowlitz, where the little town of Monticello was located. Besides being separated by a natural geographical boundary, the interests of the two sections were, to a large extent, different and often conflicting, and, as Northern Oregon was in a hopeless minority in the legislature, it could accomplish nothing for itself in the matter of legislation. The people of that region greatly desired self-government, and their fellow pioneers of the Willamette were willing they should have it.

The first step taken was on the fourth of July, 1851, when a public meeting was held in Olympia, to consider the question of a convention of delegates to memorialize Congress on the subject. Another was held in Cowlitz Precinct on the seventh, and on the twenty-third of August still another at Steilacoom. Nothing definite was agreed upon. In September, 1852, T. F. McElroy and J. W. Wiley founded the *Columbian* at Olympia, and began at once to advocate a separate government. On the twenty-fifth of the following November a convention of delegates assembled at Monticello and prepared a memorial to Congress, which was forwarded to Washington and presented by Delegate Lane to Congress. He had previously procured the introduction of a bill by the Committee on Territories to create the Territory of Columbia. This was amended by changing the name to "Washington," and finally passed, receiving the President's approval on the third of March. The Oregon Legislature had addressed a memorial to Congress requesting such action as above, but it did not reach Washington in time to be of service. The new Territory embraced all of Oregon north of the Columbia River and the forty-sixth parallel, with Olympia as the seat of government. Major Isaac I. Stevens, of the U. S. Engineers, was appointed Governor by President Pierce; Charles H. Mason, Secretary; J. S. Clendenin, Attorney; J. Patton Anderson, Marshal; Edward Lander, Victor Monroe, and O. B. McFadden, Judges. The Governor's proclamation assuming the

duties of his office was issued while he was crossing the Rocky Mountains, September 29, 1853.

On the fifteenth of March, 1853, less than two weeks after his inauguration, President Pierce made a clean sweep of the Whig officials of Oregon, and appointed Democrats in their places, as follows: Governor, General Joseph Lane; Secretary, Geo. L. Curry; Chief Justice, Geo. H. Williams; Associate Justices, Matthew P. Deady and Cyrus Olney; Marshal, James W. Nesmith; Collector of Customs, John Adair; Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Joel L. Palmer; Attorney, Benjamin F. Harding. Governor Lane reached Portland, by steamer, on the fourteenth of May, and was tendered a public reception in that city. He was nominated by the Democrats to succeed himself as Delegate to Congress, having for an opponent, A. A. Skinner, of Jacksonville, the "People's Candidate." The election was held on the sixth of June, Lane receiving four thousand five hundred and sixteen votes, and Skinner two thousand nine hundred and fifty-one. General Lane soon departed again for Washington, leaving the executive office in the hands of Secretary Curry, who was later appointed Governor. In November, John W. Davis was appointed Governor, and O. B. McFadden, Justice, *vice* Deady removed. Deady was re-appointed in August, 1854, *vice* McFadden resigned.

The Legislature met in December, 1853, the government being then Democratic in all its branches. During the session the counties of Coos, Columbia, Tillamook and Wasco were created. The formation of a State constitution was a pet measure among the leaders of the Democratic party, and they had but little trouble in passing a bill to test the opinion of the people on the subject at the next June election. The Whigs were opposed to the movement for the same reason that the Democrats favored it—the present strength of the latter at the polls, which would give them control of the government and supply fat offices for the leaders of the movement. At the same time General Lane was endeavoring at Washington to have Congress authorize the people of Oregon to frame a constitution, but unsuccessfully. The election was held on the fifth of June, resulting in a defeat of the measure by a vote of three thousand two hundred and ten in favor of it to four thousand and seventy-nine opposed, notwithstanding the fact that in other respects

the Territory gave a large Democratic majority. The greatest contrast was in Jackson County, a great Democratic stronghold, which voted almost unanimously against it. The secret of this was that a movement was on foot in that region to have a new territory created out of Northern California and Southern Oregon, and the admission of Oregon into the Union would be fatal to the scheme. Nothing daunted, the Democratic leaders and newspapers at once made that an issue for the next election.

Governor Davis resigned and started for his home in Indiana on the fifth of August, 1854, and the executive duties again devolved upon the Secretary, George L. Curry. He was afterwards appointed Governor, and B. F. Harding was appointed Secretary, being succeeded as Attorney by W. H. Farrar. The Legislature convened at Salem in December, and one of the first questions it considered was the creation of a county along both sides the Willamette from above Milwaukie to its mouth, taking in portions of Clackamas and Washington. A bill of a similar nature had been presented to the former Legislature, but too late in the session to secure favorable action. The county seat of Washington was at Hillsboro, and the people of Portland, now becoming quite a city, desired a county of their own. The peculiar shape of the proposed county won for it the jocular name of "Boot," but though this may have been extremely funny it did not prevent the bill for the creation of Multnomah County passing the House on the twenty-third of December by a vote of twenty-one to four. It also passed through the Council. Later in the session another new county effort came to grief. After much discussion in the House on a bill to create Willamette County out of portions of Yamhill, Clackamas and Marion, with county seat at Champoege, it was indefinitely postponed. A bill passed on the thirteenth of January, 1855, removing the seat of Territorial Government from Salem to Corvallis and the University from Corvallis to Jacksonville.

The subject of a constitutional convention occupied much time during the session of this Legislature. The discussion was warm and protracted. Action, at one time, took the form of appointing a committee to draft one, but finally the controversy ended by the passage of a bill to take the sense of the people on the subject at the next general election. At the same time General Lane was

seeking to have Congress to pass a bill authorizing a State constitution to be formed by the people living west of the Cascades and south of the Columbia, but without success, beyond passing it through the House. At the June election the State went strongly Democratic, General Lane defeating John P. Gaines for Delegate by a vote of six thousand one hundred and seventy-eight to three thousand nine hundred and forty-three. Gaines was the candidate of the American, or Know-Nothing, party, which had succeeded the Whig organization as the opponent of Democracy. Notwithstanding the great majority, the Constitutional Convention, a pet measure of the Democratic leaders, was again defeated, and, as before, by Jackson County, which gave a Lane majority of one hundred and forty-two, and against convention of four hundred and twenty-two. The convention was defeated by a vote of four thousand eight hundred and thirty-five to four thousand four hundred and twenty, a majority of four hundred and fifteen, or seven less than in Jackson County. The opposition fought the constitution project fiercely, and were aided by Democrats in Jackson who still cherished the idea of a new Territory, and others who looked upon the State movement as premature.

In April Mr. Bush moved the *Statesman* from Salem to Corvallis, as he had previously done from Oregon City to Salem. Much fun was made of the paper which was being carted about the Territory "on wheels," but the publisher replied that the *Statesman* was published at the seat of government, wherever that might chance to be. The opposition to removal of the seat of government to Corvallis was very strong. Work had been commenced by contractors on the public buildings at Salem, which was at once discontinued. The matter was at once referred to the Secretary of the Treasury by Governor Curry for instructions as to the course to pursue in regard to money to be expended for public buildings. Early in July he received instructions from the department not to annul existing contracts nor make new ones, and not to remove his office from Salem, as the relocation act was deemed inoperative till acted upon by Congress. Contractors at once resumed work on the buildings at Salem. Governor Curry and Secretary Harding promptly removed their offices back to Salem, in accordance with instructions, and again Oregon had two capitals.

The incidents attending the discovery of gold, and the Indian wars of 1855 to 1858, are related at length in subsequent chapters. On the second of November, 1855, the Pacific Telegraph Company began stretching wires south from Portland. The first telegraphic message in Oregon was sent over this wire from Oregon City to Portland, on the sixteenth of November, 1855. It was as follows:

OREGON CITY, Friday 16, 5 P. M.

First flash from Oregon City to Portland. Compliments of the Pacific Telegraph Company to the editor of the *Oregonian*. How are you, old fellow? Give us your hand. Please send us the latest news from The Dalles and Yakima country. [This was just after Major Haller's defeat in Yakima.] Any news of interest from Puget Sound? The machines work well. More to-morrow.

CHAS. F. JONES.

In September, Secretary Harding received instructions from Washington not to disburse any money for public buildings not located in Salem, nor for mileage or pay of members of Legislature meeting at any place except Salem. This settled the question practically, and it became the general opinion of members that they must assemble at Corvallis for sake of legality, but must adjourn at once to Salem, for sake of their salaries. On the third of December both houses convened at Corvallis, and the first bill introduced—on the sixth—was to relocate the seat of government at Salem. The House passed it on the tenth, to take effect on the twelfth. It was reported at once to the Council and an effort made to rush it through, which failed for want of a quorum. The next day motions were made to amend, so as to submit it to popular vote, also to substitute Eugene City for Salem, then Portland, Roseburg and Albany, all of which were defeated. On the twelfth it was amended to take effect the fifteenth, and passed. The House concurred in the amendment the same day. The members at once journeyed to Salem, accompanied by the *Statesman*, and the session was reopened on the eighteenth. On the night of the twenty-ninth the State House—nearly completed—was destroyed by fire, together with the library and archives of the Territory. It was conceded to be the work of an incendiary. A bill was introduced into the House for submitting the question of location of the capital to popular vote at the next general election. It passed muster in both houses and became a law.

Just before the session came to a close, a bill providing for an election, in April, of delegates to a convention in July, which should

frame a constitution, to be voted upon at the next general election, was rushed through the House, under a suspension of the rules. The Council was equally prompt in passing it. At the election eight thousand four hundred and forty-three votes were cast, and a majority of two hundred and forty-nine were in favor of not holding a convention. The delegates elected never attempted to assemble.

At the general election in June the voters indicated their preference for a permanent seat of government. The act provided that in case no town had a clear majority of all the votes cast, a special election should be held the first Monday in October, to decide between the two receiving the greatest number. The ballots, as cast, and canvassed in the different counties, gave the four leading contestants the following votes: Eugene City, two thousand six hundred and twenty-seven; Corvallis, two thousand three hundred and twenty-seven; Salem, two thousand one hundred and one; Portland, one thousand one hundred and fifty-four. Neither had a majority, but Eugene City and Corvallis were the highest two, and between them the final decision was to be made in October. So it was published in all the papers, and so it was understood universally. There was a surprise in store for everybody. It was one of the provisions of the act that the returns should be filed with the Secretary of the Territory within forty days, and at the expiration of that time he was to canvass them and officially declare the result. The counties of Wasco, Tillamook, Jackson, and Josephine failed to comply with the law in this respect, and were omitted from the canvass. Corvallis had received a large majority in Jackson County, and the loss of it placed her behind Salem. The official result was certified by Secretary Harding, as follows: Eugene, two thousand three hundred and nineteen; Salem, two thousand and forty-nine; Corvallis, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight; Portland, one thousand one hundred and fifty-four. In accordance with this, a special election was called for the first Monday in October, to decide finally between Eugene City and Salem. It is needless to say that the people generally were very much disgusted, while the citizens of Corvallis were greatly incensed. The subject was much discussed, and it became known that the authorities at Washington held that Salem was the seat of government by virtue of an act of Congress,

which act neither the Legislature nor people had the power to change; and that no money would be paid for the construction of public buildings or rental of offices at any other point, or for the expenses of a legislative session held at any place but Salem. General apathy followed, and when the first Monday in October came around few people took the trouble to vote. Less than a hundred votes were cast in the city of Portland, while in many places no polls were opened whatever. Curry, Marion, Tillamook, Polk and Wasco made no returns to the Secretary. Of the legal votes cast, Eugene City received two thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, and Salem four hundred and forty-four. Corvallis received one regular vote, and three hundred and eighteen irregular ones, the latter being cast by the citizens of that place, who did not propose to be cheated out of their honors by a mere technicality, but who did not open their polls in a regular manner.

According to the returns of the special election Eugene City became the seat of justice; but the election was ignored, and both the Legislature and the Supreme Court assembled at Salem in December. No salary would have been received by the members had they met in Salem, and there was danger that Congress would declare the session illegal. These difficulties were obviated by remaining in Salem. The question of a constitutional convention again came before the Legislature, and an act was passed providing for the holding of one in August, 1857, provided the people so decided at the previous June election, at which time, also, delegates were to be chosen. A great change had come over the sentiments of the people on this question, owing to divers causes. The people of Jackson and Josephine counties had abandoned their idea of a new Territory; the people generally had become tired of the crudities and annoyances of a territorial government; and, finally, the Territory had claims to the amount of several million dollars against the Government for expenses incurred in the Indian wars, and it was evident to all that they stood a much better chance of securing these with two Senators and a Representative to talk and vote for them, than simply with a Delegate who had no vote at all. The consequence of this revolution in popular sentiment was a great majority in favor of a convention, the vote standing seven thousand two hundred and nine to one thousand six hundred and sixteen. Gen-

eral Lane was again the Democratic nominee for Delegate, and was elected, receiving five thousand six hundred and sixty-two votes. There was no regularly organized opposition, since the Whig party was dead, the American, or Know-Nothing had become disorganized, and the new Republican party had not been organized as yet in Oregon. The opposition concentrated on G. W. Lawson as an independent candidate, and gave him three thousand four hundred and seventy-one votes, a minority of two thousand one hundred and ninety-one.

The delegates convened at Salem on the seventeenth of August, 1857, and organized by electing M. P. Deady, President, and C. N. Terry, Secretary. After an animated session the convention adjourned on the eighteenth of September, their work, as a whole, being adopted by a vote of thirty-five to ten—fifteen members being absent. The following gentlemen composed the convention:—*Benton*—John Kelsay, H. C. Lewis, H. B. Nichols, Wm. Matzger; *Clatsop*—Cyrus Olney; *Columbia*—John W. Watts; *Clackamas*—James K. Kelly, A. L. Lovejoy, Wm. A. Starkweather, H. Campbell, Nathaniel Robbins; *Coos*—P. B. Marple; *Curry*—William H. Packwood; *Douglas*—M. P. Deady, Solomon Fitzhugh, Stephen S. Chadwick, Thomas Whitted; *Josephine*—S. B. Hendershott, W. H. Watkins; *Jackson*—L. J. C. Duncan, J. H. Reed, Daniel Newcomb, P. P. Prim; *Linn*—Delazon Smith, Luther Elkins, John T. Crooks, J. H. Brattain, James Shields, Reuben S. Coyle; *Lane*—Enoch Houlst, W. W. Bristow, Jesse Cox, Paul Brattain, A. J. Campbell, Isaac R. Moores; *Marion*—George H. Williams, L. F. Grover, J. C. Peebles, Joseph Cox, Nicholas Shrum, Davis Shannon, Richard Miller; *Multnomah*—S. J. McCormick, William H. Farrar, David Logan; *Multnomah and Washington*—Thomas J. Dryer; *Washington*—E. D. Shattuck, John S. White, Levi Anderson; *Polk*—Reuben P. Boise, F. Waymire, Benjamin F. Burch; *Polk and Tillamook*—A. D. Babcock; *Umpqua*—Levi Scott, Jesse Applegate; *Wasco*—C. R. Meigs; *Yamhill*—M. Olds, R. V. Short, R. C. Kinney, John R. McBride.

The questions of slavery and free negroes had been purposely avoided in the convention, and were engrafted upon the schedule as special articles, to be voted upon by the people separately. The constitution was opposed by some people because it did not pro-

hibit slavery, and by others because it did not establish slavery. The seat of government was also objectionable to some who were opposed to Salem. A special election was held on the second of the following November, and resulted as follows: For constitution, seven thousand one hundred and ninety-five; against, three thousand two hundred and fifteen. For slavery, two thousand six hundred and forty-five; against, seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven. For free negroes, one thousand and eighty-one; against, eight thousand six hundred and forty. The Territorial Legislature convened on the eleventh of December, 1857, and held its usual session. For the regular June election, 1858, full State tickets were nominated by the Democratic and Republican parties, the contest resulting in a sweeping victory for the Democrats, as follows: Representative to Congress—L. F. Grover, five thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine; James K. Kelly, four thousand one hundred and ninety. Governor—John Whiteaker, five thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight; E. M. Barnum, four thousand two hundred and fourteen. Secretary of State—Lucien Heath, five thousand seven hundred and forty-six; E. A. Rice, three thousand six hundred and fifty-nine. Treasurer—John D. Boon, five thousand six hundred and seventy-six; J. S. Bramley, three thousand five hundred and thirty-one; E. L. Applegate, five hundred and ninety. State Printer—Asahel Bush, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight; James O'Meara, four thousand five hundred and fifty-seven; D. W. Craig, four hundred and thirteen. M. P. Deady, R. E. Stratton, R. P. Boise, and A. E. Wait were chosen Justices of the Supreme Court. According to the constitution a special term of the newly elected State Legislature convened in Salem on the fifth of July, for the purpose of electing two United States Senators. It was composed of thirty-eight Democrats and eleven Republicans. On the eighth of July the oath of office was administered to Governor Whiteaker by Judge Boise, and the machinery of the new Government was put in operation.

The Legislature elected Joseph Lane and Delazon Smith to represent Oregon in the United States Senate, and adjourned after a session of four days. Soon afterwards word was received that Congress had adjourned without the House passing the enabling act which had passed the Senate early in May, and that Oregon must

remain a Territory until the next session. For some time the proper course to pursue was warmly discussed. There were two full sets of officers and two forms of government. Gradually it became the general opinion that the State officers should remain quiet and permit the Territorial Government to proceed unembarrassed. Under the constitution the State Legislature should have met in September, but at the appointed time only nine representatives and two senators made their appearance in Salem, and these adjourned after two useless meetings. On the sixth of December the Territorial Legislature again assembled and held its regular session. Soon after its adjournment news was received that Oregon had been admitted into the Union. Senator Smith and Representative Grover had gone to Washington the fall before, and when Congress assembled had joined with Delegate Lane (Senator elect) in urging the passage of an enabling act for Oregon. It early passed the Senate, but met with bitter opposition in the House, being supported by the Democrats and opposed by the Republicans. Finally, on the twelfth of February, 1859, it was passed by a strict party vote. It then received the signature of President Buchanan, and Oregon Territory was a thing of the past.

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The following are the signatures of the Delegates to the Constitutional Convention held in Salem, September 18, 1857:—

Chas. A. Terry
Secretary

W. C. Baskinell
assistant secretary

Mr P. Deady Pres.

Solomon Fitch

Kathaniel Robbins

J. W. Gorman
Paul W. Gorman

Isaac R. Bores

Benjamin S. Gayle

Emory H. Houlton

William H. Hatzger

Wm. A. Hardmeather

Jesse Cox

J. H. Robinson

L. J. & Duncan

P. P. Dorr

Albion

James H. Kelly

David L. Lutz

Benjamin F. Bunch

Thomas Whittead

Chas. W. Lunt

J. H. Reed

Daniel Newcomb.	J. C. Peckley
Ezra E. Ellis	A. J. Campbell
La Fayette Gorn	
David Shannon	Rambert Davis
Simon B. Bonanchoff	Leyrus Olney
John W. Watts	W. H. Watkins
P. B. Murpree	Hamau L. Lewis
A. D. Babcock	Jesse Applegate
Richard Milled	Levi Scott
Ch. Waymire	E. D. Shattuck
Joseph C. of	C. R. Meigs
Belagou Smith	W. Olds
Thomas J. Linger	
John J. Brooks	
W. H. Packwood	
Levi Anderson	
John Kellogg	
Robert C. Skinner	
James Shivers	
John S. Whitin	
Geo. H. Williams	
William H. Farrar	
Stephen A. Chavix	
John R. McBride	
W. D. Bristow	
A. Shrum	
A. B. Nichols	

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CHAPTER XXI.

INDIAN WARS OF 1853 AND 1854.

Outrages Committed in Rogue River Valley—Volunteer Companies Organized—General Lane Takes Command—Defeat of Lieutenant Griffin and of Lieutenant Ely—Indians Defeated at Battle Creek—Armistice of Seven Days—The Table Rock Treaty—Incidents of the "Peace Talk"—The Grave Creek Massacre—Captain Miller Sent to Escort Emigrants through the Modoc Country—Expenses of the War Paid by the Government—Events of 1854—The Snake River Massacre—Expedition of Major Haller to Fort Boise.

TROUBLE was again experienced with the Indians in Rogue River Valley in the fall of 1853. It began early in August by the perpetration of several murders in different localities by members of several different bands of the tribe, apparently without any preconcerted action whatever. Feeling uneasy at the presence of a small band of these Indians, though there is no evidence to show that they had been concerned in any of the murders mentioned, a party of men attacked their camp, killed one buck and wounded others, and carried the women and children to a stockade which had been erected for the protection of the settlers, retaining them there as hostages. A few days later the warriors surrendered, and were kept with their families at the stockade, where, also, the settlers were assembled for mutual protection. In a few days the warriors rebelled, killed four of the men and wounded three others, making good their escape. A state of war now existed. The people collected at Jacksonville and at half-a-dozen central points in the settlements, and "forted up," while the Indians busied themselves in destroying the abandoned homes. A courier was at once dispatched to notify Captain Alden, at Fort Jones, and that officer hastened to Jacksonville with twenty men, all the force that could

be spared from the post. Two companies of volunteers—ninety men under Captain J. P. Goodall, and sixty under Captain Jacob Rhoades—were organized at Yreka and came over to aid the Oregon settlers. Six companies of volunteers were raised in Southern Oregon, commanded by Captains R. L. Williams, J. K. Lamerick, John F. Miller, Elias A. Owens, and W. W. Fowler, the last named being designed solely for the protection of Jacksonville. The other companies all assembled at Camp Stewart and were organized into a battalion, of which Captain Alden assumed command by request, the effective force numbering some three hundred men. Each volunteer was mounted, armed and dressed according to his own fashion. It was a nondescript body of soldiery, but, none the less, one well fitted for the work in hand.

Meanwhile, the Indians had also united and taken up a position on Table Rock, which they fortified with considerable skill by means of a ditch and a rampart of earth and rocks. This, however, they soon abandoned, and retired into the mountains, and it took several days to ascertain their whereabouts. A messenger was dispatched to Acting Governor Curry, soliciting aid in prosecuting the war, but before it arrived the war was over. General Lane heard of the difficulty while at his home on Deer Creek, Douglas County, and hastily collecting about fifty volunteers, he was soon with the battalion at Camp Stewart. Captain Alden tendered him the command of the force, and he accepted it. Meanwhile, several collisions had occurred between the whites and detached bands of savages. Lieutenant Burrell B. Griffin, with some twenty men of Miller's company, had a fight with about twice that number of Old John's band, led by the chief in person. The whites were defeated with a loss of one killed and two wounded, including the Lieutenant. The Indians subsequently admitted the loss of five killed and wounded. This battle occurred near the confluence of Applegate and Williams creeks. Two days before this, John R. Harding and William R. Rose, of Lamerick's company, while on their way from Camp Stewart to Jacksonville, were fired upon by Indians when near Willow Springs. Rose was killed and Harding so severely wounded that he died shortly afterwards. Other incidents were the capture and shooting of a suspected Indian by Angus Brown, the hanging of an Indian child in the town of Jacksonville, the hanging of five Indians

upon one tree at another point, and a number of other incidents which reflect no credit upon those engaged in them, and serve to show to what a pitch the feelings of the people had been aroused.

A collision occurred a few days before the arrival of General Lane, which showed that the campaign was to be something more than child's play. On the sixteenth of August a detachment of twenty-two men from Goodall's company was sent out under Lieutenant Simeon Ely, to reconnoitre. The next day, when about two miles northwest of Table Rock, the men picketed their horses in the flat and sat down to enjoy dinner; sentries were stationed, but soon left their posts and gathered with the rest around the smoking viands. Just at this blissful moment there came a volley of bullets from a fringe of willows close by, that killed and wounded ten of their number. Leaving their horses they rushed to cover, and gaining a strong position amid the brush and fallen timber, they kept the savages at bay. Privates Terrell and McGonigle set out for help, and before the enemy had completely surrounded them got away and hastened to Camp Stewart, seventeen miles distant, where Goodall's company was stationed. Goodall and his men set out at top speed, and in the shortest practical time arrived on the field. J. D. Carly and five others were in the advance, and when the Indians saw them they decamped at once, carrying away eighteen horses, blankets, etc. The casualties inflicted on Ely's men were found to be—Sergeant Frank Perry and Privates P. Keith, A. Douglas, A. C. Colbourn, L. Stukting, and William Neff, killed outright; and Lieutenant Ely and Privates Zebulon Sheets, John Alban and James Carroll, wounded. Carl Vogt, a German, is said to have been killed at this fight, although his name is not to be found in any official documents relating to the killed in the war. The Indians had fallen back, and the main force under Captain Alden came up during the night, and all camped on the flat. The next morning the dead were buried with the honors of war. Scouts sent out reported that the Indians had retired a long distance into the mountains, setting fire to the woods in their rear, and almost obliterating their trail. It was decided by the council of officers that it was necessary to return to headquarters and recruit with jerked beef and other frontier relishes, in preparation for still more arduous duties. This was done, and they were thus preparing for

a campaign when General Lane arrived, as described above, and assumed command.

The companies of Miller and Lamerick, composing a battalion in charge of Colonel Ross, were ordered to proceed down Evans' Creek to the supposed vicinity of the enemy. The regulars and the two California companies of Goodall and Rhoades, under Captain Alden, were ordered to proceed up Trail Creek to the battle ground where Ely was found by the Indians. General Lane himself proceeded with Captain Alden's battalion. Scouts reported late in the day that the Indians had taken to the mountains west and north of Evans' Creek. Early on the following day (August 23), the line of march was taken up and the Indian trail followed through a very difficult country—mountainous, precipitous and bushy—where there was constant prospect of going astray, as the trail left by the savages was very dim and nearly obliterated by fire. On the morning of the twenty-fourth a shot was heard, and scouts came in directly afterward and reported the enemy encamped in a thick wood filled with underbrush, apparently impenetrable to horses. General Lane decided to attack instantly. The first intimation the savages had of the approach of the enemy, was a volley of bullets. They were not stampeded by this rough salute, however, but, catching up their guns, entered with zest into the fight, while the squaws and other *impedimenta* were sent out of harm's way. Captain Alden was wounded early in the fight, and his regulars had difficulty in preserving him from the Indians, who attempted his capture as he lay upon the ground. Pleasant Armstrong, of Yamhill County, a much respected gentleman who had volunteered with General Lane, was mortally wounded by a bullet in the breast and fell, it is said, exclaiming, "A dead center shot!" The fight was very warm, and lasted for an hour, when the pack trains arrived with their guard. Leaving fifteen men to guard the animals, General Lane took command of the others, not more than ten in number, and ordered a charge, to drive the natives from their cover. Being in advance he approached within thirty yards of the nearest Indians, when he received a severe bullet wound through the right arm. Still exposing himself, he was forcibly dragged behind a tree, where he continued to direct the fight. He gave orders to extend the line of battle so as to prevent the Indians from outflanking his force

and feeling the loss of blood, retired temporarily to have his wound attended to. At this juncture the Indians, having found that General Lane was in command of the whites, began to call to him and to the soldiers, professing their readiness to treat for peace. Robert Metcalf, Sub-agent for the Indians, went to their camp, and through him and others negotiations were commenced, General Lane having returned to the front. Not wishing to inform the savages of his wound, the General went among them, having thrown a heavy coat over his shoulders so as to conceal his arm. An armistice of seven days was agreed upon, at the conclusion of which a final peace talk should be held at Table Rock, where a treaty was to be arranged, the Indians deliver up their arms, and a reservation be assigned them at Table Rock.

During the following night Colonel Ross arrived with his battalion, and Chief Sam came in with about half the warriors, with whom he had been reconnoitering for a permanent camp. It seems that as soon as the engagement began, runners were sent out by Joe to apprise his brother of the state of affairs, and hasten his return. The distance prevented his arrival in time to take part in the fight, and his braves had no opportunity to display their valor. It, therefore, may have been providential that Ross' battalion arrived when it did. The Indians owned to a loss of twelve killed and wounded. John Scarborough, of the Yreka volunteers, and Pleasant Armstrong were killed, and General Lane, Captain Alden, Privates Thomas Hays, Henry Flesher and Charles Abbe were wounded, the latter mortally. Captain Alden died two years later from the result of his wound, and General Lane never quite recovered from his own hurt. As soon as the terms of the armistice were arranged, the troops took up their march homeward and went into camp at Hailey's (Bybee's) Ferry, giving the location the name of "Camp Alden," in honor of the gallant Captain.

Reinforcements began to arrive from various quarters by the time the forces returned to the valley. Among other things a howitzer was sent by the authorities at Fort Vancouver, with a supply of ammunition, forty muskets, four thousand cartridges, and other articles. Lieutenant Kautz, since General, was sent in charge of the howitzer, with seven men. Acting Governor Curry made proclamation for an armed guard to accompany the Lieutenant, and

forty-one men volunteered, led by J. W. Nesmith, with Lafayette Grover as Lieutenant. Lieutenant Grover went in advance with twenty men, and was joined at South Umpqua, on September first, by Judge Matthew P. Deady, who was on his way to Jacksonville to hold court. Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Samuel H. Culver, Indian Agent, also arrived. From Port Orford came Captain A. J. Smith with his company of First Dragoons, sixty strong. Owing to Palmer's failure to arrive at the time appointed, the peace talk was postponed until September tenth. Judge Deady thus describes the scene which was enacted on the day last appointed:—

The scene of this famous "peace talk" between Joseph Lane and Indian Joseph—two men who had so lately met in mortal combat—was worthy of the pen of Sir Walter Scott and the pencil of Salvator Ross. It was on a narrow bench of a long, gently-sloping hill lying over against the noted bluff called Table Rock. The ground was thinly covered with majestic old pines and rugged oaks, with here and there a clump of green oak bushes. About half a mile above the bright mountain stream that threaded the narrow valley below, sat the two chiefs in council. Lane was in fatigue dress, the arm which was wounded at Buena Vista in a sling from a fresh bullet wound received at Battle Creek. Indian Joseph, tall, grave and self-possessed, wore a long, black robe over his ordinary dress. By his side sat Mary, his favorite child and faithful companion, then a comparatively handsome young woman, unstained with the vices of civilization. Around these sat on the grass Captain A. J. Smith—now General Smith, of St. Louis—who had just arrived from Port Orford with his company of the First Dragoons; Captain Alvord, then engaged in the construction of a military road through the Umpqua canyon and since paymaster of the U. S. A.; Colonel Bill Martin, of Umpqua, Colonel John E. Ross, of Jacksonville, and a few others. A short distance above us on the hillside were some hundreds of dusky warriors in fighting gear, reclining quietly on the ground. The day was beautiful. To the east of us rose abruptly Table Rock and at its base stood Smith's dragoons, waiting anxiously with hand on horse the issue of this attempt to make peace without their aid. After a proposition was discussed and settled between the two chiefs, the Indian would rise up and communicate the matter to a huge warrior who reclined at the foot of a tree quite near us. Then the latter rose up and communicated the matter to the host above him, and they belabored it back and forth with many voices. Then the warrior communicated the thought of the multitude on this subject back to the chief; and so the discussion went on until an understanding was finally reached. Then we separated—the Indians going back to their mountain retreat, and the whites to the camp.

J. W. Nesmith has left some additional particulars of interest. He says:—

Early in the morning of the tenth of September, we rode toward the Indian encampment. Our party consisted of the following persons: General Lane, Joel Palmer, Samuel H. Culver, Captain A. J. Smith, 1st Dragoons; Captain L. F. Mosher, adjutant; Colonel John Ross, Captain J. W. Nesmith, Lieutenant A. V. Kautz, R. B. Metcalf, J. D. Mason, T. T. Tierney. After riding a couple of miles we came to where it was too steep for our horses to ascend, and dismounting, we proceeded

on foot. Half a mile of scrambling over rocks and through brush brought us into the Indians' stronghold, just under the perpendicular cliff of Table Rock, where were gathered hundreds of fierce and well-armed savages. The business of the treaty began at once. Much time was lost in translating and re-translating and it was not until late in the afternoon that our labors were completed. About the middle of the afternoon an Indian runner arrived, bringing intelligence of the murder of an Indian on Applegate Creek. He said that a company of whites under Captain Owens had that morning captured Jim Taylor, a young chief, tied him to a tree and shot him to death. This news caused the greatest confusion among the Indians, and it seemed for a time as if they were about to attack General Lane's party. The General addressed the Indians, telling them that Owens, who had violated the armistice, was a bad man and not one of his soldiers. He added considerable more of a sort to placate the Indians, and finally the matter of "Jim's" death was settled by the whites agreeing to pay damages therefor in shirts and blankets.

The volunteers were at once disbanded and returned to their homes. It was freely predicted by a certain class of people, who were satisfied with nothing less than the extermination of the Indians, that the treaty would prove a failure, and they so conducted themselves as to render it such as quickly as possible. During the armistice and subsequent to the signing of the treaty, these exterminators maintained their efforts to kill as many Indians as they could, regardless of any restriction whatever. Revenge was their motto, and they lived up to it. Not half of the outrages perpetrated on Indians were ever heard of through newspapers; yet there are accounts of several, and these are of a most cold-blooded description. We will allude lightly to a few examples. Captain Bob Williams, stationed with his company on the banks of Rogue River, attempted to kill two children, the sons of Chief Joe, but General Lane, with the utmost haste, ordered his removal from the locality to another, where there would be less opportunity for the exercise of his propensities. Of another outrage Judge Deady writes:—

At Grave Creek I stopped to feed my horse and get something to eat. There was a house there called the "Bates House," after the man who kept it. It was a rough, wooden structure without a floor and had an immense clapboard funnel at one end which served as a chimney. There was no house or settlement within ten or twelve miles, or more, of it. There I found Captain J. K. Lamerick in command of a company of volunteers. It seems he had been sent there by General Lane after the fight at Battle Creek, on account of the murder of some Indians there, of which he and others gave me the following account: "Bates and some others had induced a small party of peaceable Indians, who belonged in that vicinity, to enter into an engagement to remain at peace with the whites during the war which was going on at some distance from them, and by way of ratification to this treaty, invited them to partake of a feast in an unoccupied log house just across the road from the 'Bates House'; and while they were partaking, unarmed, of this proffered hospitality the

door was suddenly fastened upon them, and they were deliberately shot down through the cracks between the logs by their treacherous hosts. Near by, probably a quarter of a mile this side of the creek, I was shown a large, round hole into which the bodies of these murdered Indians had been unceremoniously tumbled. I did not see them, for they were covered with fresh earth."

It does not require the thorough investigation to which the records of these events have been subjected by the writer, to determine conclusively that while the whites as a class were content with the treaty and obedient to its provisions, there was a considerable minority who lost no opportunity to manifest their contempt of the instrument and their disregard of its obligations. Nor were the Indians idle. As soon as the report of the killings at Grave Creek, at Applegate and other places, had been bruited abroad, and the natives had become convinced that they were individually in as much danger as before, they began committing outrages as great as those from which they had been suffering. It is unnecessary to detail the many incidents which occurred. It is sufficient to say that these mutual outrages were committed from time to time until they resulted in a long and bloody war in 1855.

The Indians were settled on the reservation at Table Rock, where, also, Captain Smith established a military post, which he called "Fort Lane"; and this was for the next three years the base of all military operations in Southern Oregon by the regular army. Captain Miller's company of volunteers, one hundred and fifteen strong, was not disbanded with the others, but was dispatched to the Modoc country by General Lane, where it did excellent service for six weeks in protecting emigrant trains in that hostile region. Two men were wounded while engaged in this service. These occurrences complete the history of what is known as the "War of 1853." There is a short note to be appended relating to the indebtedness which grew out of the war. This was assumed by the United States. The muster-rolls and accounts of all the eight companies and General Lane's staff (the General refused to accept compensation for himself), were made out and adjusted by Captain Goodall, as inspecting and mustering officer, acting under orders from General Lane, at the close of the war; and these papers were forwarded to Captain Alden at Washington, and being presented to Congress were promptly acted upon at the instance of that officer and General Lane, in his capacity as Delegate to Congress from

Oregon Territory. Major Alvord, Paymaster of the United States army, under orders from the Secretary of War, paid off the volunteers, in coin, at Jacksonville and Yreka, in June and July, 1855. The commissary and quartermaster accounts were at the same time sent in draft to Governor Curry, and by him disbursed to the proper creditors. The total cost to the United States was about \$285,000.

During the year 1854 there was considerable trouble with the Indians of Southern Oregon, causing much trouble and anxiety to the settlers, but never amounting to a state of war. Much of this was caused by Tipsu Tyee, an unruly chief of a small band living in the Siskiyou Mountains. He was killed by Shasta Indians that summer, much to the satisfaction of all parties. In the fall Colonel Ross dispatched a company of volunteers, under Captain Jesse Walker, to escort emigrants through the Modoc country, where they performed excellent service, and effectually guarded the emigrants till all had passed through that dreaded region.

What is generally known as the "Snake River Massacre," occurred in the fall of 1854, and nearly added another to the long list of Indian wars of the Pacific Coast. For a number of years immigrants had been accustomed to relax their vigilance after entering the region dominated by the Hudson's Bay Company, as Indians under the influence of that powerful organization had never committed depredations upon them. After leaving Fort Hall they generally broke up into small parties, which were strung along the route for miles without any organization whatever. A party of this kind, consisting of Alexander Ward and family of wife and ten children, Mrs. William White, Dr. Charles Adams, Samuel Mulligan, William Babcock, and a German whose name is unknown, were attacked by Indians on the twentieth of August, on the south bank of Boise River, twenty-five miles above Fort Boise. The struggle was brief. Ward and his eldest son Robert, Dr. Adams, Babcock, Mulligan and the German fought bravely and were soon killed. Norman Ward, a lad of thirteen years, was wounded, but hid himself in the bushes, and thus escaped death. The oldest daughter fled, but was pursued and overtaken after running some four hundred yards. She fought desperately to frustrate the hellish designs of the savages, and so enraged them by her resistance that she was shot through the head and killed. One of

the five wagons was burned at that point, and the body of Miss Ward mutilated with a red hot iron. The other women and children were captured, and the savages started with them and four wagons for their camp, some half mile distant on the river bank. After progressing a short distance through the thick brush, they stopped and burned three more of the wagons. Here they selected Mrs. White as a victim for their lust, and after they had abused her in a most horrible manner, she was dispatched by a bullet wound in the head. Mrs. Ward and three small children were taken with the remaining wagon to their camp, only to undergo still greater tortures. The wagon was burned, and with it the three children, who were grasped by the hair and held across the burning pile until their cries of agony were hushed in death; their mother being compelled to witness their horrible sufferings. She was then subjected to the same fearful ordeal endured by Mrs. White, and was then killed by the blow of a tomahawk. The fate of the other four children never was known.

The same day a party of seven men—among them Mr. Yantis and a youth named Ammen—came to the scene and attacked the Indians. In the fight young Ammen was killed, and the others were compelled to retreat, taking with them the wounded Norman Ward, whom they had found in the brush. Two days later John F. Noble left Fort Boise with a party of eighteen men and discovered the bodies and evidences of the horrible details as above described. They saw no Indians, and after burying the mangled bodies they returned. The news was carried in haste to The Dalles, and Major Raines at once dispatched Major Haller with a strong detachment of troops to the scene. Nathan Olney, Indian Agent, raised a company of thirty-seven volunteers and accompanied the troops. When they reached Boise River they found the Indians had retreated to the mountains beyond reach. A few days of campaigning disclosed the fact that nothing could be accomplished, and the force returned to The Dalles.

The excitement and indignation was great in the Willamette Valley. Ex-Governor John P. Gaines was known to be near Fort Boise with two of his sons, and it was reported that they, as well as others, had also been killed. There was a demand for punishment of the perpetrators, both as an act of vengeance and because it was

necessary as a measure of protection for the emigration the following year. At last Governor Curry issued a proclamation calling for two companies of volunteers, to be armed, equipped and mounted at their own expense. A few days later he countermanded it, the high officials of the State Militia—Brigadier General J. W. Nesmith, Adjutant General E. M. Barnum, and others—having advised him that a winter campaign was not advisable. This brought out a public indignation meeting in Portland, held September 30, and adjourned to October 2, at which resolutions, strongly condemning the Governor and his advisers, were passed. In this there was a spice of the same political feeling which tinged every important movement in those days. T. J. Dryer was one of the committee which drafted the resolutions, and being editor of the *Oregonian* and an intense Whig, this was a splendid opportunity for him to deal the Democratic administration a stinging blow. In this instance he was in the right, for, in case a campaign were deemed necessary at all, the winter season was the best one in which to make it. Because of the snow the Indians could not retreat into the mountains before the advance of troops, but must remain in the valleys with their families, where they could be easily found and attacked. In the summer, on the contrary, twice as many troops and twice the expense would be required to pursue them through the mountain wilds. It was charged by the Whigs that this greater expense was what the "Government ring" desired, preferring a war with "something in it" to a short and decisive campaign. The question was taken into the Legislature the following January. A majority of the committee to which it was referred reported in favor of doing nothing, while the minority reported a bill providing for raising five companies of volunteers and prosecuting a war against the Snake River Indians. The majority report was adopted, and the proposed war collapsed.

The following May, General Wool, commandant of the Department of the Pacific, dispatched Major Haller with a strong detachment of troops to guard the emigrant route from Fort Boisé. His action was heartily praised by every one, and he was in high feather with the people of Oregon until his conduct, a few months later, displeased them and lost him his place in public esteem, whether justly or not the circumstances will show. When Major Haller

reached Fort Boisé he held a council with the Indians of that region. During its progress four of the Winnass Indians, the tribe which had committed the massacre, came in to see what was going on. These were arrested as soon as the council was over, and tried by military court. One of them confessed and related the circumstances, offering to conduct the troops to the hiding place of the tribe. Soon after doing this he broke from his guard and ran toward the river, but was killed by a bullet from Sergeant Killehard's gun. The other three were condemned to be executed on the scene of their crime. The next day the command marched to the place of execution, and, after burying in one grave the bones of the murdered emigrants which had been dug up by coyotes, erected a gallows over the mound and hanged all three at one time. The next morning they were cut down and buried, while the gallows was left standing as a warning to others who might feel disposed to murder unprotected emigrants. The command then went into camp on Big Camas Prairie and remained during the summer, returning to The Dalles when the emigration had all passed through.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE GREAT OUTBREAK OF 1855.

Inability of Indians to form a Coherent Combination—Rogue River, Puget Sound and Columbia Hostilities Distinct and Separate—Relation of Whites and Indians in Rogue River Valley—Controversy between General Wool and the Citizens—Incidents before the Outbreak—The Lupton Affair—Quick Revenge of the Indians—Massacre of October 9th—Heroic Defense of Mrs. Harris—Great Excitement Prevails—A Review of the Situation—Causes which Led to the War on the Columbia—Indian Treaties made by Stevens and Palmer—They Mislead the People by Publishing Incorrect Statements of what they have Accomplished—Discovery of Gold in the Colville Region—Sauce for the Goose not Sauce for the Gander—Murder of Mattice—Hegira from Colville and Walla Walla—Murder of Indian Agent Bolon—Regulars Invade the Yakima Country—Defeat of Major Haller—Major Raines Calls for Volunteers—Governor Curry Calls for Ten Companies—General Wool's Opinion of Governor Curry's Conduct—Another Cause Assigned for the War—Excitement in Willamette Valley—The "Oregonian" and "Statesman"—Wars and Rumors of Wars Alarm the People.

THE greatest Indian war known on the Pacific Coast was the one—or, more properly speaking, the three—which raged along the Columbia, around Puget Sound, and in the region of Rogue River from the fall of 1855 to the summer of 1856. No less than four thousand warriors were at times in arms against the whites, and only a lack of hearty and intelligent co-operation on the part of the hostiles saved the outlying settlements from total annihilation, and the more populous communities of the Willamette Valley from all the horrors of barbaric warfare.

Petty jealousies, ancient feuds, tribal antipathies, and a lack of confidence in the honor of their allies has always prevented the

formation or long existence of a strong combination among the aborigines of America. Treachery is the predominating trait of the Indian character, and no one seems better aware of that fact than the Indians themselves. No matter how extensive an alliance some powerful and enlightened chief might be able to effect, tribal jealousies and distrust soon broke in pieces his rope of sand. The Indians of America have been compelled to contend with the advancing tide of Caucasian supremacy, tribe by tribe, as the wave of civilization reached and engulfed it and then rolled on to the next. In every struggle they have made to breast and beat back this mighty flood, they have found themselves opposed by members of their own race, who helped to render futile their impotent efforts. Not infrequently has it happened that, in the very heat of the campaign, the treachery of allies has dashed to earth the fondest hopes of some great chief, whose voice had called to arms the warriors of neighboring tribes. King Philip, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, Osceola, Captain Jack, Chief Joseph, Egan, and even Sitting Bull, each in his turn, saw members of his own race raise their weapons against him and aid the white foe to crush him to the ground. Had it been otherwise the picket fires of Caucasian civilization might even now be burning on the summit of the Alleghenies, and the settlements on the Atlantic Coast only preserved from annihilation by a continuous line of fortifications from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. A people so warlike, so brave, so intelligent, and so numerous, lacked only the ability to successfully combine to have checked there the advancing wave of conquest, and, possibly, to have rolled it back to the shore of the great Atlantic Sea.

The almost simultaneous beginning of hostilities by the tribes so widely separated as those of Rogue River Valley and the Plains of the Columbia, was at the time, regarded as conclusive evidence of an extensive and well-planned combination for the extermination of the settlements; and this has been the prevailing opinion to the present day. To one who looks deeper than these surface indications, and studies the various causes which led to the beginning of hostilities in the different regions, the question presents another aspect. He sees that totally distinct causes were in operation to produce these effects, though, primarily, they sprang from the one great fountain head of all our Indian wars—the aggressiveness of

the higher civilization and the natural resistance of a warlike people to the encroachments of a superior race. It was an effort, in the one case, to expel white intruders from the home of their ancestors, superinduced by special acts of ill-treatment by the invaders; and in the other case an attempt to ward off the same evils they saw had befallen the tribes of other regions. The only combination was among the tribes living along both sides of the Columbia, east of the Cascade Mountains, and this was but an incoherent union, manifested chiefly in a spasmodic and transient co-operation, brought about by a community of interest and a similarity of grievances. Had there been as thorough a union and as perfect a blending of forces as was imagined, the consequences to the settlements in the Willamette would have been fearful to contemplate. The uprising along Rogue River was distinct, and brought about by local events, but occurring at the same time, the resources of the Territory were severely taxed to conduct campaigns in two regions so remote from each other—where the machinery and organization of two separate and distinct armies had to be maintained. This condition of affairs served, also, to divide the regular troops stationed here by the Government into detachments so small that they were totally unable to cope with the enemy. The outbreak along the southern and eastern shores of Puget Sound, was, no doubt, a result of the hostilities across the mountains; or, to better define it, the Indians of the Sound took advantage of this favorable opportunity to make an attempt to break up the settlements in their midst, while warlike tribes living to the north, in British Columbia, made hostile incursions in their war canoes, drawn hither by the supposed defenseless condition of the people.

The first outburst of war's destructive flame occurred in Rogue River Valley, and was but a continuation of that fierce race conflict which began with the first advent of settlers into the valley, and ended only with the extermination or removal of the native proprietors of the soil. Here, more than at any other place, had race prejudice been developed to its extreme pitch by four successive years of conflict. Indians were both despised and hated. The least "insolence" on their part met with swift retribution, while on the other hand, indignities put upon them, even, in instances, to the taking of life, went uncondemned by the better portion of the com-



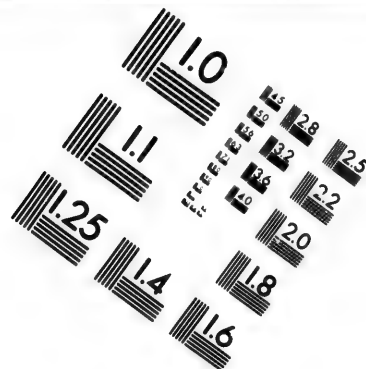
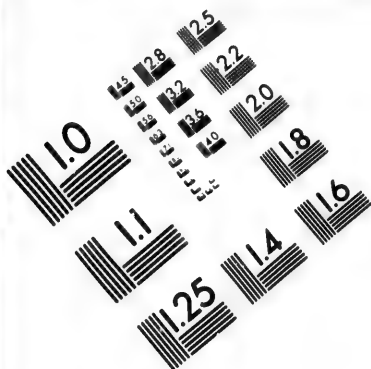
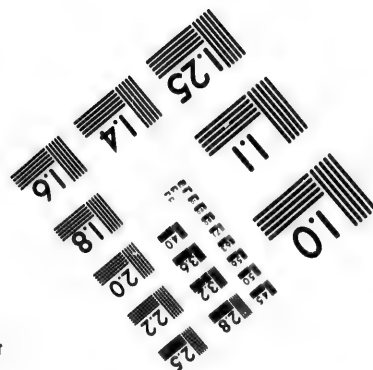
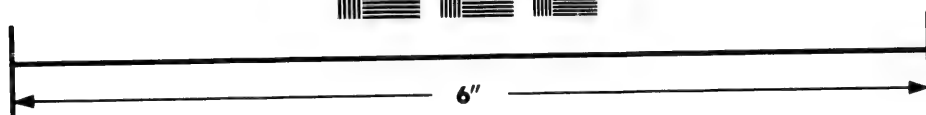
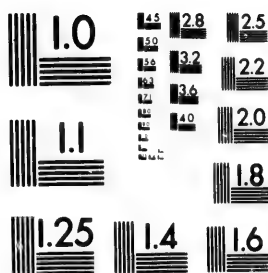


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munity, and by the more irresponsible and less morally developed, were approved as being "good enough for them." There were many who deprecated this condition of affairs; but when they led to the inevitable outbreak, the relentless ferocity and barbarous cruelty of the savages soon united the whole community in one universal demand for their extermination. When their property was being destroyed, their families threatened with death, and all the horrors of barbaric warfare were hovering over their homes, there was no time for moral philosophy, no time to inquire into the causes that had produced this terrible state of affairs. The natural instinct of self-preservation and a spirit of vengeance for the death of neighbors and friends bound them together in a demand for retribution, and that the savage perpetrators of these horrible deeds be either exterminated or placed beyond the possibility of repeating them. The officers of the regular army, whose duty it was to protect the people and keep the Indians in subjection, were inclined to inquire more closely into the origin of these difficulties, and in their official reports frequently condemned irresponsible whites for precipitating the uprising which they were called upon to subdue. It was so in this instance, and Captains Judah and Smith and General Wool were severely condemned by the people and press of Oregon for their strictures upon the ante-bellum conduct of the white people; though it was their dilatory action and half-hearted method of conducting their campaigns which drew down upon them the severest criticism. Much of this was undeserved, yet it must be admitted that General Wool allowed himself to be governed too much by his opinion of the causes which led to the wars and not enough by the critical condition of affairs after hostilities had actually been commenced. Believing firmly that the whites were responsible for the outbreak, he considered that his duty only required him to defend the settlements from attack, while, on the other hand, the people demanded of him an aggressive campaign. This led to a lack of harmonious action between the volunteers and regulars in the field, and to much abuse and misrepresentation. Passion, pride and prejudice seemed to hold such perfect sway, that newspaper editorials and communications, private correspondence and official reports all passed beyond the limits of reliability. Had General Wool recognized the fact that, no matter what was the

origin of hostilities, the future security of the people required that a severe castigation be administered to the turbulent tribes, and had he promptly entered upon the vigorous campaign he was afterwards compelled to make, his name would now be revered in Oregon as is that of his successor—the noble Colonel Wright. War having once been begun with savages, it was folly to adopt a defensive policy. Nothing but an aggressive campaign, ending in a complete defeat and humiliation of the enemy, can ever conquer a lasting peace with such a foe. General Wool should have known this and acted accordingly. He was right in condemning the conduct of the whites in drawing down upon innocent heads the vengeance of savages, but he was wrong in permitting this to interfere with that vigorous discharge of his duty as the commanding officer of this department, which the proper protection of those innocent heads demanded. A brief summary of the events of the intercourse between the two races in the Rogue River Valley, between the close of hostilities in 1854 and their inauguration again the following year, will show that the severe war which then began was caused by the custom both the whites and Indians had of taking revenge for the killing of any of their number, by attacking parties not only innocent, but entirely ignorant, of the deed for which vengeance was being exacted. This habit, and especially its manifestation in the Lupton affair, explain General Wool's strong condemnation of the men whom he charged with responsibility for the war.

There were a few detached incidents in 1854, which could not be said to be associated in any way with a design on the part of the Indians to make war or commit outrages, yet they served to keep alive the general feeling of insecurity and spirit of hostility on the part of the whites. About the middle of April Edward Phillips was murdered in his cabin on Applegate Creek, and an investigation showed that Indians had committed the deed for the purpose of robbery. Though this should have been considered an individual crime, as it would have been had the perpetrators been white men—and such acts by white men were by no means rare—it was charged to the general Indian account, to be settled, whenever opportunity occurred, with any Indians who might be so unfortunate as to be selected to balance the score. In September a number of people were killed by the members of Tipsu Tyee's band. An im-

migrant named Stewart was murdered while passing with his wagon along the trail. On the second of September an affray occurred in the upper part of Bear Creek Valley, Jackson County, which resulted in the death of a white man and the wounding of two others. A few days previously Indians stole some horses from B. Alberding. The owner summoned his neighbors to assist in recovering them, and a very small company set out on the quest. Following the trail, they walked into an ambuscade and were fired upon. Granville Keene was killed, and Alberding, J. Q. Faber and another man were wounded. The party hastily retired, leaving the body of Keene where it fell. On the following day a detachment of troops from Fort Lane proceeded to the scene of the conflict and obtained the much mutilated remains, but the Indians, of course, were gone.

The next event occurred on the twenty-fifth of September. On the previous day Harrison B. Oatman, Daniel P. Brittain and Calvin M. Fields started from Phoenix, each driving an ox-team loaded with flour destined for Yreka. Camping the first night near the foot of Siskiyou Mountain, the train started up the ascent in the morning. When within three hundred yards of the summit, Brittain, who was in the rear, heard five shots fired in the vicinity of the men in the advance. Hurrying up the rise he quickly came in sight of the teams, which were standing still, while an Indian was apparently engaged in stripping a fallen man. Turning back, Brittain ran down the mountain, followed by a bullet from the Indian's rifle, but made his way unhurt to the Mountain House, three miles from the scene of the attack. Six men hastily mounted and returned to the summit. Oatman, meanwhile, had escaped to Hughes' house, on the California side, and obtained help. He reported that a youth named Cunningham was passing Oatman and Fields when the attack was made, and that he was wounded at the instant Fields fell dead. The latter's body was lying in the road, stripped, but Cunningham was only found the next day, lying dead by a tree behind which he had taken refuge. On the following day Samuel Warner was murdered on Cottonwood Creek, not far from the scene of the other tragedy, and most likely by the same Indians. These repeated outrages produced a very considerable degree of alarm, but no military measures of importance were taken, except by the officials at Fort Lane, who sent forty mounted troops to the various scenes of bloodshed, who returned without having effected anything.

The first overt act in 1855 was committed by a party of Illinois Indians, who crossed the mountains to Klamath River and robbed some cabins near Happy Camp, and then proceeded to Indian Creek and killed a man named Hill, or Hull, retreating to the head of Slate Creek with cattle they had stolen from Hay's ranch. This was on the eighth of May, and on the following day Samuel Frye set out from Hay's ranch with a force of eight men, and coming suddenly upon the culprits, killed or wounded three of them. He then returned for reinforcements, and returning with them the next day he found the enemy had taken advantage of the respite from attack to visit Deer Creek and kill a man named Philpot, and seriously wound James Mills. Settlers were thrown into a fever of apprehension, and hastily gathered into a stockade at Yarnall's. Lieutenant Switzer hastened from Fort Lane with a detachment of twelve men, and soon discovered that the Indians had murdered Jerome Dyer and Daniel McCue, on Applegate Creek, and escaped eastward. They were followed, captured and taken to Fort Lane, where they were placed under close guard, both for their protection from the enraged citizens, and to prevent them from escaping.

The next event was what is known across the line in Siskiyou County as the "Humbug War." This had its origin in a shooting scrape between a citizen and a drunken Indian, and consisted of the massacre of eleven innocent miners, and the indiscriminate killing of many innocent and inoffensive Indians by the whites of that region. The only connection it had with Oregon was the flight of a band of Indians, among them the originator of the trouble, to Fort Lane, and their pursuit by five companies of volunteers from the California side. These made a demand upon Captain Smith for the fugitives, but the officer declined to surrender them to any one except the regular authorities, and though the exasperated volunteers threatened to take them by force, they thought better of that rash project and returned to California.

Our account now approaches the beginning of the war of 1855-6, by some thought to have been the result of the incidents above recounted. It is truly difficult at this time to accord these circumstances their proper influence in the acts which followed. It is evident that the people of Rogue River Valley, toward the end of the summer of 1855, must have felt an additional degree of insecurity,

but that it was wholly in consequence of the murders which had previously taken place does not seem probable, inasmuch as these murders were committed outside the valley, and the most aggravated ones nearly a year before. Their legitimate results could hardly have been sufficient to stir up a general war against the Indians, so we are left to conjecture the growth of a public sentiment determined upon war. The vast majority of settlers, wearied of constant anxiety, heartily and unaffectedly believed that the removal of the Indians was desirable and necessary. Whatever may have been the exact status of the war party, and whatever the influence of the speculative branch of it, it is clear there was no outspoken opposition, such as would have been created by a general sentiment in favor of peaceful methods. Almost the only outspoken advocate of Indians' rights was compelled to leave the country of his adoption from fear of personal violence. Whoever doubts the acerbity of public sentiment at that date, will do well to pause here and digest that statement, comparing with it the tenor of the editorial remarks to be found in the *Jacksonville Sentinel* at that time. If such publications may be trusted to gauge public sentiment, the feeling of absolute enmity against the natives must have increased ten-fold since the signing of the Lane Treaty. This feeling of hostility was sufficient to cause the following outrage to receive the endorsement of a large portion of the community; and this was the incident which General Wool so freely criticised and strongly condemned, and for doing which he was so roundly abused by the press of Oregon.

On the seventh of October, 1855, a party of men, principally miners and men-about-town, in Jacksonville, organized and armed themselves to the number of about forty (accounts disagree as to number), and under the nominal leadership of Captain Hays and Major James A. Lupton, Representative-elect to the Territorial Legislature, proceeded to attack a small band of Indians encamped on the north side of Rogue River, near the mouth of Little Butte Creek, a few miles above Table Rock. Lupton, it appears, was a man of no experience in bush fighting, but was rash and headstrong. It is the prevailing opinion that he was led into the affair through a wish to court popularity, which is almost the only incentive that could have occurred to him. Certainly, it could not have been

plunder; and the mere love of fighting Indians, which drew the greater part of the force together, was, perhaps, absent in his case. The reason why the particular band at Butte Creek was selected as victims also appears a mystery, although the circumstances of their location being accessible and their numbers small, possibly were the ruling considerations. This band of Indians appear to have behaved themselves tolerably; they were pretty fair Indians, but beggars, and, on occasion, thieves. They had been concerned in no considerable outrages that are distinctly specified. The attacking party arrived at the river in the evening, and selecting a hiding place, remained until daylight, the appointed time for the attack. The essential particulars of the fight which followed are, when separated from a tangle of contradictory minutiae, that Lupton and his party fired a volley into the crowded encampment, following up the sudden and totally unexpected attack by a close encounter with knives, revolvers, and whatever weapon they were possessed of, and the Indians were driven away or killed without making much resistance. These facts are matters of evidence, as are also the killing of several squaws, one or more old decrepit men, and a number, probably small, of children. Captain Smith reported to the Government that eighty Indians were slaughtered. Others place the number at thirty. The exact condition of things at the fight, or massacre, as some have characterized it, is difficult to determine. Accounts vary so widely that by some it has been termed a heroic attack, and others have called it an indiscriminate butchery of defenseless and peaceful natives. To temporize with such occurrences does not become those who seek the truth only, and the world would be better could such deeds meet at once the proper penalty and be known by their proper name. Lupton was mortally wounded by an arrow which penetrated his lungs, and a young man named Shepherd was slightly wounded. As usual, the storm of barbaric vengeance fell upon the heads of the innocent and defenseless. Swift and cruel was the revenge of the Indians for this great and unexpected outrage which had been committed upon them, and the massacre of defenseless settlers, unwarned of their danger, is one of the saddest pages of Oregon's pioneer history. Language can not too strongly condemn the act which precipitated such a bloody scene, and much of the time and breath spent in

abuse of General Wool and execration of the Indians should have been devoted to the denunciation of this brutal and unwarranted act.

Early on the morning of October ninth, two days after this affair on Butte Creek, several of the more war-like bands gathered about Table Rock, and started down the river with their families, arms, and other property, bent on war. Their first act was to murder William Goin, or Going, a teamster, native of Missouri, and employed on the reservation. Standing by the fire-place in conversation with Clinton Schieffelin, he was fatally shot, at two o'clock in the morning. The particular individuals who accomplished this killing were, says Mr. Schieffelin, members of John's band of Applegates, who were encamped on Ward Creek, a mile above its mouth, and twelve miles distant from the camp of Sam's band. Hurrying through the darkness to Jewett's Ferry, these hostiles, now reinforced by the band of Limpy and George, found there a pack-train loaded with mill-irons. Hamilton, the man in charge of it, was killed, and another individual was severely wounded. They next began firing at Jewett's house, within which were several persons in bed. Meeting with resistance, they gave up the attack and moved to Evans' Ferry, which they reached at daybreak. Here they shot Isaac Shelton, of the Willamette Valley, en route for Yreka. The next victim was Jones, proprietor of a ranch, whom they shot dead near his house. The house was set on fire, and Mrs. Jones was pursued by an Indian and shot with a revolver, when she fell senseless, and the savage retired, supposing her dead. She revived and was taken to Tufts' place and lived a day. O. P. Robbins, Jones' partner, was hunting cattle at some distance from the house. Getting upon a stump he looked about him and saw the house on fire. Correctly judging that Indians were abroad, he proceeded to Tufts and Evans' places. The former place the Indians had already visited and shot Mrs. Tufts through the body, but being taken to Illinois Valley she recovered. Six miles north of Evans' Ferry the Indians killed two men who were transporting supplies from the Willamette Valley to the mines. The house of J. B. Wagner was burned, Mrs. Wagner being previously murdered, or, as an unsubstantiated story goes, was compelled to remain in it until dead. This is refinement of horrors, indeed. For a time her fate was unknown, but it was finally settled thus. Mary, her

little daughter, was taken to the Meadows, on Lower Rogue River, some weeks after, according to the Indians' own accounts, but died there. Mr. Wagner, being away from home, escaped death. Coming to Haines' house, Mr. Haines being ill in bed, they shot him to death, killed two children and took his wife prisoner. Her fate was a sad one, and is yet wrapped in mystery. It seems likely, from the stories told by the Indians, that the unhappy woman died about a week afterwards, from the effects of a fever aggravated by improper food.

At about nine o'clock A. M. the savages approached the house of Mr. Harris, about ten miles north of Evans', where dwelt a family of four—Mr. and Mrs. Harris and their two children, Mary, aged twelve, and David, aged ten years. With them resided T. A. Reed, an unmarried man. Reed was some distance from the house, and was set upon by a party of hostiles and killed. His skeleton was found a year after. David, the little son, in all likelihood, was taken into the woods by his captors and slain, as he was never after heard of. Mr. Harris was surprised by the Indians, and retreating to the house, was shot in the breast as he reached the door. His wife, with the greatest courage and presence of mind, closed and barred the door, and in obedience to her wounded husband's advice, brought down the fire-arms which the house contained—a rifle, a double-barreled shotgun, a revolver and a single-barreled pistol—and began to fire at the Indians to deter them from assaulting or setting fire to the house. Previous to this a shot fired by the Indians had wounded her little daughter in the arm, and the terrified child climbed to the attic of the dwelling where she remained for several hours. Throughout all this time the heroic woman kept the savages at bay, and attended, as well as she was able, the wants of her husband, who expired in about an hour after he was shot. Fortunately, she had been taught the use of fire-arms; and to this she owed her preservation and that of her daughter. The Indians, who could be seen moving about in the vicinity of the house, were at pains to keep within cover and dared not approach near enough to set fire to the dwelling, although they burned the out-buildings, first taking the horses from the stable. Mrs. Harris steadily loaded her weapons and fired them through the crevices between the logs. In the afternoon the Indians drew off and left the

stout-hearted woman mistress of the field. She had saved her own and her daughter's life, and added a deathless page to the record of the country's history. After the departure of the savages, the heroine, with her daughter, left the house and sought refuge in a thicket of willows near the road, and remained there all night. Next morning several Indians passed, but did not discover them.

When, on the day of the massacre, a rider dashed into Jacksonville and quickly told the news, great excitement prevailed. Almost immediately a score of men were in their saddles and pushing toward the river. Major Fitzgerald, stationed at Fort Lane, went at the head of fifty-five mounted men, and these going with the volunteers, proceeded along the track of ruin and desolation left by the savages. At Wagner's house some five or six volunteers, who were in advance, came upon a few Indians hiding in the brush near by, who, unsuspecting of the main body advancing along the road, challenged the whites to a fight. Major Fitzgerald came up and ordered a charge; and six of the "red devils" were killed, and the rest driven "on the jump" to the hills, but could not be overtaken. Giving up the pursuit, the regulars and volunteers marched along the road to the Harris house, where they found the devoted mother and her child and removed them to Jacksonville. A company of volunteers led by Captain Rinearson, hastily came from Cow Creek and scoured the country about Grave Creek and vicinity, finding quite a number of bodies of murdered men. On the twenty-fifth of October the body of J. B. Powell, of Lafayette, Yamhill County, was found and buried. James White and — Fox had been previously found dead. All the houses along the Indians' route had been robbed and then burned, with two or three exceptions.

It would be difficult to picture the state of alarm which prevailed when the full details of the massacre were made known. The people of Rogue River Valley, probably without exception, withdrew from their ordinary occupations and "forted up" or retired to the larger settlements. Jacksonville was the objective point of most of these fugitives, who came in on foot, on horse or mule back, or with their families, or more portable property loaded on wagons drawn by oxen. In every direction mines were abandoned, farms and fields were left unwatched, the herdsman forsook his charge, and all sought refuge from the common enemy. The in-

dustries were brought to a standstill, and trade and commerce became instantly paralyzed. All business and pleasure were forsaken to devise means to meet and vanquish the hostile bands. Nor was this state of affairs confined to the Rogue River country. The people of the Willamette Valley caught the infection, and for a time the depressing expectation of Indian forays racked many a breast. The Oregon papers of that date were full of matter calculated to show the extreme state of apprehension existing throughout the State, caused by these events and outrages committed at the same time by Indians north of the Columbia. It will be believed that there was ample reason for such a feeling among those who lived south of the Calapooias. The settlers on the Umpqua and its tributaries were obviously endangered. They retired to places of safety until the Indian scare had settled down to a steady warfare. At Scottsburg, more than a hundred miles from the seat of war, the inhabitants thus took refuge. On Cow Creek on the twenty-fourth of October, Indians made an attack on some hog-drovers from Lane County, who were traversing the road. H. Bailey was killed instantly, and Z. Bailey and three others wounded. The Indians burned, on that day, the houses of Turner, Bray, Fortune, Redfield, and one other. Mr. Redfield placed his family in a wagon and started for a place of safety, but soon his horses were shot, and he took his wife upon his back and carried her to a fortified place, before reaching which she was wounded.

It should be remarked that the situation in Southern Oregon was even more serious than was thought possible by those who viewed these affairs from abroad, or through the distorting medium of the newspapers. The people were beset on all sides by savages, they knew not how numerous, who might strike, they knew not where. The extent of the Indian uprising was not at first understood. The Indians were well supplied with ammunition, and had guns, rifles, revolvers and knives, as great in assortment and better in quality than the whites themselves were provided with. Besides, of the several thousand Indians who inhabited Southern Oregon, no one could tell which band might dig up the hatchet and go on the war path in imitation of those who were already so actively butchering and burning. The Table Rock band, steadfastly friendly, withstood the temptation to avenge their undoubted grievances, and

remained upon the reservation, thereby diminishing the enemy's force very considerably. The Coast Indians, formidable and dangerous barbarians, as yet had not been influenced to join the malcontents. To oppose such an array of active murderers and incendiaries, the General Government had a small number of troops, unfitted to perform the duties of Indian fighting by reason of their unsuitable mode of dress, tactics, and their dependence upon quartermaster and commissary trains. The formation of volunteer companies and the enrollment of men, began immediately upon the receipt of the news of the outbreak. The chief settlements became centers of enlistment, and to them resorted the farmers, miners, and traders of the vicinity, who, with the greatest unanimity, enrolled themselves as volunteers to carry on the war which all now saw to be unavoidable. On the twelfth of October, John E. Ross, Colonel of the Ninth Regiment of Oregon Militia, assumed command of the forces already raised. Recognizing the need of mounted troops, he made proclamation calling into service men provided with horses and arms, and in two days had increased his command to nine companies, aggregating five hundred men. Several of these companies had been on duty from the day succeeding the massacre, so prompt did their members respond to the call of duty. The regiment was increased by the first of November to fifteen companies, containing an average of fifty men each, or seven hundred and fifty in all. It is justly thought remarkable that such a force could have been so quickly raised in a country of such a limited population as Southern Oregon. If we examine the muster-rolls of the different companies we shall be struck by the youth of the volunteers—the average age being not beyond twenty-four years. From all directions they came—these young, prompt and brave men—from every gulch, hill-side and plain, from every mining claim, trading post and farm of that extensive region, and from the sympathizing towns and mining camps of Northern California, which, also, sent their contingents. Their animals were gathered from pack-trains, farms and towns, and were in many cases unused to the saddle. But the exigencies of war did not allow the rider to hesitate between a horse and a mule, or to humor the whims of the stubborn mustang or intractable cayuse. With the greatest celerity and promptness the single organizations had hurried to the rescue of the outlying settle-

ments, and in many cases preserved the lives of settlers menaced by Indians. Captain Rinearson, at Cow Creek, enrolled thirty-five men on the day following the massacre, and by nightfall had stationed his men so as to effectually guard many miles of the road, leaving men at the Canyon, at Levens' Station, at Turner's, and a strong force at Harkness and Twogood's Grave Creek House, and sending others down Grave Creek and to Galece Creek. By this prompt display of force the Indians were overawed, and refrained from exposing themselves by continuing their raids in the valley; and the people, seeing such an armed force in their midst, began to regain calmness and confidence.

Having considered the various incidents which led to the outbreak in Southern Oregon, we will leave the mustering hosts and turn to the north to review the causes of the war along the Columbia. The totally different condition of affairs renders it self-evident that hostilities here were begun without the slightest reference to what was being done to the south. Their concurrent happening was simply a coincidence, and there is no reason to suppose that either would not have occurred had the other in any manner been prevented. Among the Yakimas, Klickitats, Des Chutes, Walla Walla, Cayuses, Spokanes, Palouses, Snakes and kindred tribes, the hostility to Americans was deep-rooted and of long standing; and even the Nez Perces were beginning to imbibe the infection. The cause of this has been made to plainly appear in the preceding pages—the fear that the Americans intended to take their lands. This was the great fundamental cause of the Whitman tragedy in 1847, and was the secret of the ill favor with which a "Boston" met in the eye of an Indian of that region. The Hudson's Bay Company was not included in this feeling of hostility to the Americans, and even during the times of trouble a well-known employee of that corporation could travel among the hostile tribes in perfect security. The Bostons had not as yet taken up claims in that region, and the Indians did not propose to permit them to do so until the land was purchased and paid for. Brooke, Bumford and Noble had a claim at Wailatpu, and H. M. Chase on the Touchet. William C. McKay, son of Thomas McKay, and looked upon as a company man, had located on the Umatilla, and with him were Jones E. Whitney and family. A short distance below them was the

agency. Louis Raboin, an old American trapper of French descent, was living on the Tukannon. The only other settlers were a number of French Canadians and half-breeds, former servants of the company, and nearly all married to Indian women, the greater number living along the Walla Walla. These were the only settlements in the Walla Walla region.

As early as February, 1855, reports of a hostile spirit being exhibited by the Indians east of the mountains, were circulated, and trouble in the near future was predicted. One of the incidents where this feeling was displayed was in the case of S. M. Hamilton and T. Pierce, who, about that time, went to the Simcoe country to locate a stock ranch. The Yakimas would not permit them to do so, and informed them that Americans could not settle in their country until the Government had bought and paid for the land. In consequence of this feeling, which was displayed by the various tribes on different occasions, Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory, in his capacity of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, started on an extended trip through that region, intent upon forming treaties with the tribes and extinguishing the Indian title to the country. After a long conference near Fort Walla Walla, they concluded treaties the ninth of June, with seventeen tribes, by which was ceded to the Government nearly all the region embraced in Klickitat, Yakima, Kittitas, Spokane, Lincoln, Douglas, Adams, Franklin, Whitman, Columbia and Walla Walla counties, in Washington Territory, and a portion of Union and Umatilla counties, in Oregon, excepting the Yakima and Umatilla reservations.

The area thus lost to the Indians was a little over twenty-nine thousand square miles, for which they were to be paid as follows: The fourteen tribes termed the "Yakima Nation," including the Palouse Indians, with Kama-i-akun as head chief, were to be given \$200,000. This was to be paid in yearly installments—during the first five \$10,000, the next five \$8,000, then \$6,000 for five years, and for the last five \$4,000—payments to commence in September, 1856. This left \$60,000 which were to be expended in getting these tribes on their reservation, for fitting it up and to aid them in learning the art of husbandry. In addition to this the head chief of the nation was to have a house built for him, with ten acres of land

enclosed and plowed, and he was to be paid \$500 per year for twenty years as a salary. To the Indians generally this was a glittering temptation, but Kama-i-akun was hostile to the transaction and used his influence against it without avail. From that time until his death he was never friendly to the whites, and later withdrew from the war-path against them only for want of followers. Fourteen chiefs in all signed this agreement, among whom was the unwilling Kama-i-akun. The Walla Walla, Cayuses and Umatillas, were to be paid \$100,000 for their birth-right, with a twenty years' annuity of \$500 to the head chief of each of those tribes. But for the blood stain upon their hands of a murdered Whitman, the Cayuses would not have sold their country to the whites. The Umatillas, knowing they were not guiltless in that affair, and looking to the reward offered for compliance, placed their names to the treaty. The Walla Walla, too weak for resistance, reluctantly joined in the transfer of their homes, and thirty-six chiefs from among the three tribes signed the conveyance. Peu-peu-mox-mox, chief of this last mentioned tribe, was sullen and would not talk. He remembered that his own son had been educated at the mission; had visited California by invitation of Captain J. A. Sutter; had been as wantonly and maliciously murdered while in that gentleman's fort as had been Dr. Whitman among the Cayuses; and he no longer courted their friendship or believed in their promises. A special clause was placed in the treaty giving this chief permission to build a trading post at, or near, the mouth of the Yakima River, which he could occupy for five years and trade with the whites. He was to be paid his first year's salary on the day he signed the treaty, and the other chiefs had to wait. A house was to be built for his living son, around which five acres of land were to be plowed and enclosed, and he was to be paid annually \$100 for twenty years. In addition to all this, Peu-peu-mox-mox was to be given, within three months, "three yoke of oxen, three yokes and four chains, one wagon, two plows, twelve hoes, twelve axes, two shovels, one saddle and bridle, one set of wagon harness, and one set of plow harness." None of the other chiefs received promise of like privileges or payments, and it is a striking evidence of the necessity that existed for obtaining the influence of this evident leader among the tribes at the council. The two treaties were signed on the ninth of

June, 1855, at Camp Stevens within the limits of what now is Walla Walla City. Then Stevens and Palmer opened negotiations with the Nez Perces, who had been present since the gathering of the tribes at this great council. On the eleventh of that same month these old and tried friends of the Americans, who had been one of the strong powers to influence the other tribes to cede their lands in the two treaties of the ninth, conveyed their immense domain to the Government, withholding a rather extensive reserve. Their territory, about one-fourth of which was retained, included over eighteen thousand square miles; and they were to be paid for it in annuities through a term of twenty years, a total of \$200,000. In addition, the head chief was to be paid \$500 per year for twenty years, and the tribe was to receive other benefits tending toward civilization. Fifty-eight chiefs signed it, among whom were Lawyer, Looking Glass, and Joseph. At the close of this council at Walla Walla Governor Stevens started for Colville, accompanied by a few Americans and a body-guard from this tribe. The Indians in that region refused to sell their lands. The Governor passed over the Bitterroot Mountains and concluded a treaty with the Flathead Nation on the sixteenth of July, by which they ceded over twenty thousand square miles of territory to the Government, less a reservation. The tribes constituting the Flathead Nation included the Flathead, Kootenai, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles. In addition to the \$200,000 there were to be a \$500 salary paid to the head chief of each of those tribes annually for twenty years, and the other usual advances to the nation for educational and agricultural purposes. Over this nation the Catholic missionaries had an almost unlimited control, and, had they opposed it, no treaty could have been effected. From among the Flatheads, Governor Stevens passed beyond the Rocky Mountains to treat with the Blackfeet.

When the treaties had been signed at the Walla Walla council and Governor Stevens had started north, Joel Palmer returned to The Dalles, where he induced the Wascoes, Des Chutes, and John Day Rivers to cede their lands to the Government, on the twenty-fifth of June, for \$150,000. Payment was to be divided into annuities that would reach that amount in twenty years, with salaries to chiefs and advances for improvements similar to those contained in the other treaties. The land ceded by these tribes, from which

should be deducted their reservation at the eastern base of Mount Jefferson, included over sixteen thousand square miles.

Each of these treaties contained the following clause: "This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States." It is thus seen that neither the whites nor Indians were bound by the provisions of the treaties until they had been so ratified, and the usual dilatoriness of Congress postponed that event until the eighth of March, 1859. Nevertheless Governor Stevens and Superintendent Palmer caused to be immediately published in the Oregon papers an official announcement that they had "concluded treaties," by means of which they had extinguished the Indian title to all the country except the reserves, whose boundaries they gave, and notifying the people that the actual settlements and improvements of the Indians must not be molested until such time as they were officially removed to the reservations, which, of course, though they did not so state, could not be done until the treaties were made binding upon the contracting parties by formal ratification. Mr. Palmer expressly stated in a notice dated July 10, 1855, that all the country east of the summit of the Cascade Mountains, and from latitude 44° north to Kettle Falls, excepting the reservations, was "open to settlement." Such was not the case; and for thus giving the people an incorrect idea of what had been accomplished, Governor Stevens and Superintendent Palmer are justly chargeable with a large share of responsibility for the hostilities which followed. The Indians did not so understand it, and their views were correct. The effort which had been made to acquire their lands in this wholesale manner had caused universal dissatisfaction among them, and deepened their ill-will toward the Americans. The chiefs had signed the treaties reluctantly, and their conduct, though acquiesced in, was not approved by their followers. In such a frame of mind they would not submit to any infringement of their rights under those documents, and, until their terms had been complied with, did not propose to permit any settlements to be made on the ceded lands. They even determined to exclude the Americans from the privilege previously enjoyed of passing through the country. The people were thus led by this injudicious conduct of pompous officials, to claim rights they did not possess and which the Indians would not admit, and trouble naturally followed.

Only a few days subsequent to the signing of the treaties at Walla Walla, an event occurred which placed the relations between the whites and Indians in a still more precarious and strained condition. This was the reported discovery of gold at the junction of the Columbia and Pend d'Oreille rivers, thirty miles from Fort Colville, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company. The discoverers were four French Canadians who had gone on a prospecting trip to that region from French Prairie the preceding March, induced so to do by one of their number, a half-breed named Wau-ka, who had found color on the river. Small parties began leaving for the mines, and as reports of the richness and extent of the diggings became circulated, the number of these adventurers increased. Wells, Fargo & Co. sent an agent to examine them, and his report was to the effect that the mining ground was very extensive, but the gold so fine that it could not be panned or cradled to advantage; sluices and quicksilver would be required; also that the water in the river was too high for successful mining at that season. Exaggerated reports, however, continued to find their way into print, and, in a few weeks, travel to the Colville Mines became quite extensive. Parties from the Willamette Valley went by way of The Dalles and Simcoe Valley at first, and later through Walla Walla and the Palouse Country; while those from the Sound crossed the mountains by the Natchess Pass, and headed direct for the mines. In the frame of mind in which the Indians then were, this was more than they could stand. The treaties had not been ratified and were not yet in force; every inch of the country belonged to the native proprietors as completely as before the signing of the compact. Not a plow nor a hoe, not a cow nor a dollar of money, had they received; and yet the whites were streaming through their country and talking and acting as though the Indians had no rights in the matter whatever. General Wool charged these men as interfering with the Indian women, and thus precipitating hostilities; but that charge was never sustained, though such conduct as that has been one of the most fruitful causes of trouble between the two races. It is not necessary, however, to account for the war in that manner, since there was ample cause without. The ideas the Indians entertained on the subject of white occupation, have been explained. The Yakima tribes, under the leadership of Kama-i-akun, now de-

terminated that no white men should reside in, or pass through, their country until the treaties had been ratified and the purchase price of their lands been paid. This determination they made known on several occasions. About the middle of July a man named McCormick, who had a claim on Klickitat River at a point known as "St. Charles City," was driven from his place, and spent a day and night in a treetop on the bank of the Columbia, when the steamer *Mary* came along and took him aboard. The Indians sent word that whites would not be permitted to settle on their lands until they had been paid for. About the same time Pierre Jerome, chief of the Indians of Kettle Falls, refused to permit A. F. Wilson, the man whom Wells, Fargo & Co. had sent to inspect the mines, to go from Colville to Pend d'Oreille River, saying that Americans would not be permitted to pass through or mine in the country until the land was paid for by the Government; also that all the tribes named would hold a "big talk" in August on the subject. This great council was never held, but that, in some way, the various tribes along the Columbia arrived at a mutual understanding of what they would do in certain events, was made evident by their conduct a few months later.

The people, as has been shown, had not been notified that, as yet, the treaties were not in force, and that they had thereby acquired no rights they did not previously enjoy. On the contrary, they looked upon the hostile position assumed by the Indians as utterly unjustifiable, and in direct violation of rights conferred by treaty. This idea appears prominently in all contemporaneous writings and in subsequent discussions of the war and its causes, especially in those evoked by the unfavorable reports and comments of General Wool. Looking at it from this stand-point, they were much excited in August when the *Statesman* published a rumor that seventy men had been killed in the Colville country, though this was promptly contradicted. A few days later, when the news of the murder of Mattice was received, they became still more so, and charged the Indians with violating treaty obligations. Mr. Mattice was a resident of Olympia, and with Judge Yantis and others, crossed the mountains in August on his way to the mines. When near the Columbia, Mattice became separated from his companions and soon fell in with a Spokane Indian, who traveled

with him. Not long afterwards four Isle de Pere Indians overtook them and shot Mattice, boasting to his companion that they had already killed three Bostons that day. News of the tragedy was taken to Colville by the Spokane and did not reach the Willamette Valley until late in September. Much apprehension was felt for the safety of a score of others from Puget Sound, who were known to be passing through the hostile country. The agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Colville, Mr. McDonald, on the twenty-sixth of August, sent a messenger to the mines notifying the Americans of the death of Mattice and that the Indians were combining, and advising them to leave the mines unless they were prepared to defend themselves against large numbers. Many had previously started upon their return, disgusted with the mines, and now nearly all of the remainder took McDonald's advice and returned by the way of Walla Walla, reporting the Indians along the route as being very surly and threatening in their conduct. Whitney, at McKay's place on the Umatilla, was warned by Stick-as and Umhowlish, two Cayuse chiefs, that it was unsafe for him to remain, and was told that they had given Dr. Whitman a similar warning before his death. He hastened with his family to The Dalles, and the few other Americans in that region did the same, or took refuge with the friendly Nez Percés. The French and half-breed settlers remained, being considered Hudson's Bay Company men, and some of the later arrivals from Colville, among whom were McKay and Vic. Trevitt, only passed safely through by representing themselves as employees of the company.

In the absence of Governor Stevens, the Secretary, C. H. Mason, discharged the duties of executive. On the twenty-second of September he addressed a communication to Major G. J. Raines, commandant at Fort Vancouver, informing him of the murder of Mr. Mattice and the reported death of a number of others, and requesting him to dispatch a military force to the Yakima country to punish the aggressors and protect the small parties of miners traveling through that region. A. J. Bolan, Indian Agent for Washington Territory, a man who had great influence among the Yakimas and for whom they entertained great respect, started for that region from The Dalles as soon as he heard of the first hostile acts, and as no word was received from him for a number of days it was feared

he had been killed by his wards. Governor Mason had hardly dispatched his letter before intelligence was received at Olympia that two citizens of that place—Walker and Jamison—had been killed near the Natchess Pass. He at once made a requisition upon Captain M. Maloney, commanding Fort Steilacoom, for a detachment of regulars to proceed to the Yakima country and punish the perpetrators of these murders and protect the straggling parties passing through. Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter was detailed for this duty with forty men; and departed on the twenty-seventh of September with forty days' rations. Mason addressed a second letter to Major Raines on the twenty-sixth, informing him of the new developments, and requesting him to send a military force to co-operate with Lieutenant Slaughter. To this Major Raines replied as follows:—

GOVERNOR—Your letter by Mr. Pearson I have the honor to acknowledge, and have ordered into the field a company of eighty-four men from Fort Dalles, O. T., all mounted, and with provisions on pack mules for one month, to proceed without delay and sweep through the Yakima country to the points you indicated, co-operating with the force from Steilacoom; also, to inquire into the safety of Agent Bolan, who has now been absent an unusual length of time; a respectful attention to whose views are enjoined—if alive—for there are grounds to fear otherwise. I shall approve of the action of the commanding officer at Fort Steilacoom in the premises, and only regret that the forty men under Lieutenant Slaughter were not a full company. I have also located an officer and twenty men at the Cascades.

This expedition was placed under the command of Major G. O. Haller, a brave and experienced officer who had just returned from a successful campaign in Southwestern Idaho against the Snake Indians who had murdered the Ward family the fall before. Previous to his departure the fate of Agent Bolan was settled. Nathan Olney, Sub-agent in Oregon, had dispatched from The Dalles a trusty Indian to bring him intelligence of the missing man. He returned with the startling report that seventeen men had been killed (never substantiated), and that Bolan had been murdered. The Agent had threatened the Indians with punishment by the troops unless they refrained from molesting the whites who passed through their country. When he left to return he was followed by several of them, and a son of Show-ah-way, an influential chief, shot him. His throat was then cut, and the murderers shot his horse and burned the two bodies together. About the same time, Werbaanahan, a Cascades chief, came into the settlement there and reported that

five hundred Yakimas and Klickitats were within fifteen miles of White Salmon, and at once the military detachment located there embarked on the steamer *Wasco* and proceeded to the mouth of that river, only to find their presence there useless, and at once returned.

On the third of October, Major Haller's force, consisting of one hundred and seven, rank and file, started north from The Dalles, dragging with them a mountain howitzer. News of this movement, of the death of Bolan, and the White Salmon canard, reached Portland at the same time and created much excitement throughout the Valley. This force marched north, and on the sixth encountered a strong body of Indians on Simcoe Creek. By a dashing charge the savages were dislodged from the brush along the stream, but the fortunes of battle soon turned, and the troops were forced to take refuge on the crest of a neighboring hill, where they were immediately surrounded by the enemy, whose number was estimated at one thousand warriors. A courier succeeded in slipping through the environing savages, and after two days of fatigue and danger, reached The Dalles with intelligence of the precarious position of the troops. Lieutenant Day at once started to their relief with forty-five men and a howitzer, but soon met the troops in full retreat. Unable to maintain their position, they had forced a passage through the enemy's lines and fought their way out of the country, losing, in the whole fight, five of their number killed and seventeen wounded.

On the ninth Major Raines made a requisition upon Governor Mason for two companies of volunteers, and addressed a communication to Governor George L. Curry, of Oregon, containing the following language:—

As commanding officer, I have ordered all the United States disposable force in this district into the field immediately, and shall take the command. As this force is questionable to subdue these Indians—the Yakimas, Klickitats, and may be some other smaller bands—I have the honor to call upon you for four companies of volunteers, composed, according to our present organization, of one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, and seventy-four privates. This number of companies is just enough for a major's command, and would authorize that officer also. We have only arms enough at this post for two companies, so it is advisable to have two of the four companies come armed with rifles, or such arms as can best be obtained. We have plenty of ammunition, however. As celerity is the word, we want as many of the volunteers as can be immediately obtained, to rendezvous at this post, and proceed with the troops to Fort Dalles. They can be mustered here.

Governor Mason at once issued a proclamation for two companies, which were speedily filled. Governor Curry did better. Instead of four companies he called for eight—one each from Multnomah, Clackamas, Washington, Marion, Polk, Yamhill, Lane and Wasco—and a few days later added a company from Benton and another from French Settlement, in Marion County; the last being designed for scout and guide duty. Just why this was done is not perfectly clear, but it was charged at the time that he proposed to render the regulars auxiliary to the militia instead of the reverse, and therefore desired companies enough to require a colonel, who would outrank Major Raines. It was also charged that speculation was an important factor here as well as in Southern Oregon, and that ever since the glorious trip of the year before “to fight the emigrants,” the powers that were, and their friends, looked upon an Indian war as a bonanza of considerable proportions. This may be doing the memory of the executive and his advisers an injustice, but certain it is, even if that element was not then present, it cropped out later, and with sufficient prominence to give color to the suspicion of its existence from the very beginning.

It is proper here to give another version of the cause of hostilities and the reason for this rather wholesale calling to arms by Governor Curry. General Wool, in a letter to the *National Intelligencer*, under date of April 2, 1856, detailed the situation in Oregon from his stand-point. This is one of the letters which drew down upon his devoted head such a storm of indignation, which will be more fully referred to in its proper place. In it he says:—

It is said that the Yakimas having become dissatisfied with the treaty made with them the summer before by Governor Stevens, determined on war. This was hastened, as it would seem, by some miners forcibly carrying away and ill treating some Yakima squaws. The Yakimas, according to their own story, complained of this wrong to A. J. Bolan, Sub-Indian Agent, who was at that time in the Indian country, and demanded redress. An altercation took place, when the Indians threatened revenge. The agent, in turn, threatened to send against them troops of the United States. It was under such circumstances that the agent and the Indians separated. The former, however, was followed and overtaken by the Yakimas, when they demanded to know if he intended to send the troops of the United States against them. On answering them in the affirmative, as the Indians say, they killed him, and afterwards, as reported, some miners on their way to the Colville mines. * * * The Major, however, partaking somewhat of the alarm pervading the country, increased and stimulated by political demagogues, called upon Acting-Governor Mason for two companies of volunteers, which was

promptly and favorably responded to; and upon Governor Curry, of Oregon, for four companies, which he refused, because, as he said, the Oregonians would not serve under United States officers. At the same time he called into the Territorial service two mounted regiments—one to serve against the Indians of Washington Territory, and the other against the Indians in Southern Oregon. Of the former, no part of it, in any sense of the term, was necessary to defend the inhabitants of Oregon against the Indians in Washington Territory, east of the Cascade Mountains, from whom they had no danger whatever to apprehend. * * * Such have been the results of one of the most unwise, unnecessary and extravagant expeditions ever fitted out in the United States, and for no other reason than to plunder the treasury of the United States and to make political capital for somebody. It could not have been projected for the defense of the inhabitants of Oregon, nor for the protection of Oregonians in Washington Territory, for none resided there. What, then, could have been the object? Nothing but a crusade against the Indians, and a long war to enrich the country. If such was not the object, Governor Curry, instead of sending his troops against the Indians of Washington Territory and beyond his own jurisdiction, would have sent them all to Southern Oregon, where the war raged, and no where else in his territory. The Oregonians say that the war is a Godsend to the country. * * * It is said by intelligent men that the expenses of Governor Curry's army will amount, in scrip, to three or four millions of dollars. If Congress should foot the bill, some Governor of another Territory will make a bill of ten millions. I do not know how the question will be considered. One thing, however, is certain, that it is an example which, if countenanced by the United States Government, may, when least expected, lead to no less embarrassing than disastrous results.

In the "River of the West," the author, who evidently was inspired by the communications and reports of General Wool, thus speaks upon this subject:—

But when at last the call to arms was made in Oregon, it was an opportunity sought and not an alternative forced upon them by the politicians of that Territory. The occasion was simply this: A party of lawless wretches from the Sound Country passing over the Cascade Mountains into the Yakima Valley, on their way to the Upper Columbia mines, found some Yakima women digging roots in a lonely place and abused them. The women fled to their village and told their chiefs of the outrage, and a party followed the guilty whites and killed several of them in a fight. Mr. Bolan, the Indian-Sub-Agent for Washington, went to the Yakima village, and, instead of judging the case impartially, made use of threats in the name of the United States Government, saying that an army should be sent to punish them for killing his people. On his return home, Mr. Bolan was followed and murdered. The murder of an Indian Agent was an act which could not be overlooked. Very properly the case should have been taken notice of in a manner to convince the Indians that murder must be punished. But, tempted by an opportunity for gain, and encouraged by the somewhat reasonable fears of the white population of Washington and Oregon, Governor G. L. Curry, of the latter, at once proclaimed war, and issued a call for volunteers, without waiting for the sanction or assistance of the General Government.

Though the camas incident may have occurred, it has not been established by proof; and even if an actual occurrence it was but an incident and not a sole cause of trouble. For this contracted

and superficial view, General Wool, who was a stranger and unfamiliar with the relations the whites and Indians had previously sustained toward each other, may, perhaps, be considered excusable. He probably acted "to the best of his knowledge and belief." His course was certainly better than the other extreme adopted by Governor Curry.

The excitement and panic created in the Willamette Valley can hardly be appreciated at this distant day. News of the terrible straits to which Major Haller was reduced, and of Major Raines' call for aid, was followed two days later by intelligence of the terrible massacre in the Rogue River Valley, already described. It was at once asserted, and generally believed, that all the Indians in Oregon and Washington had combined to wage a war of extermination against the settlements. The *Oregonian* especially was a panicky paper, filling its columns with all the absurd rumors which mendacious schemers or timid idiots might invent or conceive. Other papers seconded the hot-headed Dryer in his efforts to create a war feeling among the people, with the exception of the *Statesman*; and this exception was caused by the simple fact that Bush, its editor, always espoused the negative of any question upon which Dryer had pronounced in the affirmative. It was somewhat anomalous and paradoxical in this case, since the *Statesman* was the apostle of Democracy, and the Territorial Government was completely in the hands of that party, which would, consequently, control all appointments and the letting of all contracts—as subsequent events proved that it did. On the contrary the *Oregonian*, as the organ of the Whig, or American, party, could hope for no benefit for itself or friends, save such as might come indirectly, because the "war was a Godsend to Oregon." By warmly advocating the war, and then as hotly criticising its management by the Democratic officials and contractors, while not forgetting at the same time to bestow unlimited praise upon "the brave men in the field," the *Oregonian* made itself extremely popular. This was an astute piece of journalism, and it may be said that the *Oregonian* here laid the foundation for its subsequent greatness and prosperity.

To enumerate the various rumors which flew about the Valley, racking the nerves of the timid and rousing the martial ardor of the more warlike, would be impossible. The same evening the start-

ling intelligence was brought into Portland that Major Haller was defeated, a rumor was spread that the Cascades was threatened and that six hundred Indians were opposite St. Helens. Hastily a meeting was called, excited and warlike speeches made, a committee of safety appointed "to keep an eye on the Indians in and about the city," and another to enroll the names of volunteers. Quite a company was raised before the canard was exploded. Throughout the whole valley there was a general preparation for defense, extending from the simple inspection of fire-arms to the building of stockades, according as the panic took deep or shallow hold upon the individual. The Methodists of Tualatin Plains, in Washington County, apparently more exposed to annihilation by lightning than attack by Indians, constructed a stockade around their church, and prepared for a defense of their families within the protecting wall of pickets. The following extract from an editorial in the *Statesman* of October 25, two weeks after the excitement began, throws much light upon the subject:—

* * * The idea that Indians are going to attack the Willamette towns or settlements is groundless and silly in the extreme, and it requires more patience than we possess to treat it soberly and without ridicule. * * * Upon what are all these "dread alarms" based? Upon silly rumors, dreams, and crazy imaginations of excited and half-crazy brains. And how rapidly have they all been exploded in their order! First, The Dalles and Cascades were to be immediately attacked; next, St. Helens; then Major Haller was about to be cut off; Lieutenant Slaughter's command was, without doubt, murdered; and also Governor Mason, who followed, with Stuart, Trevitt, Barnhart and McKay, and several others, too numerous to mention, who had not been heard of for twenty-four hours or so. They have all finally turned up unharmed, except Haller's command, which sustained a loss of five men. * * *

Upon the heels of the above list of rumors followed some other members of that innumerable family to the effect that three or four hundred Klamaths were at the head of the Santiam, armed, and threatening an attack upon the neighborhood, Salem, Albany, and probably Corvallis. No Indians could be found there; and then rumor located a still larger and more dreadful band on the Calapooia, with the intention of sweeping the country and burning Eugene City. But *nary* Indian was found there, and we heard nothing of madam rumor for two or three hours, when she came in breathless and reported the Tillamook Indians as being in an awful *fix*, and about to blow out Lafayette and Yamhill. A party started over to Tillamook to surprise the red rascals and head off their dire intentions; in due time they returned, without any scalps, and not very much frightened for their lives. They probably conveyed to those Indians the first intelligence they had of the combination of *all* the tribes against the whites. * * *

Now, nothing remains of the rumors from that quarter (the north) but the report of a combination of tribes, and a purpose of giving battle to the whites. We have noticed that in times past, upon the occurrence of Indian hostilities, it is at once reported that there is a combination of all the tribes in the section where the disturbance exists; and we have noticed, also, that when it was over and the facts

obtainable, that there was no general combination, and no preconceived purpose of war. There may be a general combination of tribes north of us. We hope not; and we have seen no evidence that such is the case, and do not believe that it is.

The troops under the command of Major Raines were portions of the 4th Infantry. Immediately upon receiving the Major's report of the condition of affairs on the Columbia, as well as intelligence of the Rogue River complications, Major General Wool, commandant of the Military Division of the Pacific, with headquarters at San Francisco, forwarded all the troops at his disposal, together with stores, ammunition, etc. He also made a requisition upon the Government for reinforcements, in response to which the 9th Infantry was sent to the Coast; but owing to the insufficient means of communication and travel, the regiment did not arrive until the following spring.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FALL CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH.

Governor Curry Calls for Two Battalions of Volunteers—Siege of Galice Creek—Battle of Hungry Hill—A Poor Commissariat, and Jealousy between Regulars and Volunteers Cause Disaster—Organization of the Two Battalions—They Arrange with the Regulars for a Joint Campaign—The First Meadows Campaign—Invasion of the Rice Settlement—Massacre of Peaceable Umpquas in Looking-Glass Valley—Attack on the Camps of Jake and John—The Siege on Applegate Creek—Fight on Murphy Creek—Close of the Campaign for the Winter.

THE narrative now turns back to the Rogue River Valley, whose stirring events will be considered while Major Raines and Governor Curry's troops are preparing for their expedition against the Yakimas. Upon the news being received at Corvallis, the temporary seat of Government, that the flame of war had burst out afresh in Southern Oregon, Governor Curry, immediately after his proclamation for troops to fight the Northern Indians, issued a second call for volunteers to quell the uprising in the South. He called for two battalions, to be designated as the "Northern Battalion" and "Southern Battalion." The former was to consist of five companies, two from Lane County, and one each from Douglas, Linn and Umpqua, and was to rendezvous at Roseburg and elect a Major to command it. The latter was to consist of four companies, all from Jackson County, to assemble at Jacksonville, and also choose a Major as commander.

While the work of organizing the forces was going on, the Indian marauders retired to the neighborhood of Grave Creek, Cow Creek and Galice Creek, on each of which were important settlements. On the morning of the seventeenth of October the united bands of

Limpy, George, John and Tenas Tyee made an attack on the headquarters of the volunteers on Galice Creek, and the fight ensued which has been celebrated as the "Siege of Galice Creek." Captain William B. Lewis, in command of a company of about thirty-five men, was stationed at the creek. On the day mentioned Sergeant Adams was fired upon by hostiles, who appeared in strong force on the hill overlooking the houses used as headquarters. Several volunteers who were standing near were also fired upon, and Private J. W. Pickett was mortally wounded by a shot through the body, and died during the day. The headquarters consisted of two board houses, situated some twenty yards apart, and about an equal distance from the stream. Some four or five men took a position in a ditch which had been cut for defensive purposes; others took shelter within a log corral adjoining one of the houses, while within the latter the remainder were installed. The enemy were hidden behind natural obstructions in all directions from the defenses. Very soon the men were driven from the ditch, and took refuge in the houses. While retreating toward the house, Private Israel D. Adams was shot and fell, mortally injured, near the house, being assisted into it by Private Allen Evans, who, while thus engaged, received a severe wound in the jaw. The Indians immediately occupied the ditch to the number of twenty or more, and kept up a fire on the houses, within which the volunteers were erecting defenses by digging up floors, piling up blankets, etc. Umpqua Joe, a friendly Indian who was taking part with the whites, had the misfortune to be wounded; and a bullet penetrated the thin walls of the house and struck Private Samuel Sanders in the head, killing him instantly. Several attempts were made by the enemy to set fire to the houses, and Chief George particularly distinguished himself by attempting to throw burning faggots upon the roofs. The engagement lasted nearly all day, the Indians at nightfall retiring from the scene. When they had disappeared, the volunteers went to work to strengthen their defenses by extending their ditch, at which they occupied themselves nearly all night. In the morning some Indians appeared, and seeing from the preparations that the whites were ready to receive them, fired their guns, retreated, and were not again seen on Galice Creek. Besides those mentioned, Benjamin Tufts, severely wounded, died on the twenty-eighth of November

following. Captain Lewis, First Lieutenant W. A. Moore, and Privates John Erixson, Louis Dunois, and Milton Blacklidge were wounded. How great the Indian loss was could not be determined, but common opinion was that it was about equal to that of the whites.

A few days subsequently, and while the whereabouts of the Indians was unknown, an opportune circumstance revealed their place of abode. Lieutenant (since General) A. V. Kautz, of the regular army, set out from Port Orford with a guard of ten soldiers to explore the country lying between that place and Fort Lane. Leaving the river near the mouth of Grave Creek, he ascended the neighboring hills and, much to his surprise, came upon a very large band of Indians. As they proved hostile, there was no resource but to run for it, and losing one man by the savages' fire, the men escaped to Fort Lane. Having now been made aware of the Indians' exact whereabouts, Colonel Ross and Captain Smith, combining forces as well as the mutual jealousies of regulars and volunteers would permit, began to plan an active campaign. All the disposable troops at Fort Lane consisted of eighty-five men and four officers. These set out on the twenty-seventh of October, and on arriving at the Grave Creek House were joined by Colonel Ross' command, of about two hundred and ninety men, besides a portion of Major Martin's force from Deer Creek. From this point the combined forces moved, on October thirtieth, to the Indian camp, arriving at daybreak at a point where Captains Harris and Bruce were deployed to the left, while Captain Smith, with the regulars, took the ridge to the right, with the expectation of arriving in the rear of the position. Captains Williams and Rinearson followed in Captain Smith's tracks. The country not being perfectly known by the whites, several mistakes followed in consequence, and Harris and Bruce came directly upon the Indian encampment, and were in full view of the savages, before any strategic movement could be made, and no opportunity for surprising the enemy offered itself. The time was sunrise, and Captain Smith had gained his rear position and had built fires for his men's refreshment, at the place where Lieutenant Kautz had been attacked. By these fires the Indians were warned of the party in their rear, and prepared themselves accordingly. The regulars descended into a deep gorge, climbed

up the other side and directly were engaged with the Indians, who advanced to meet them. From the crest of the hill for a mile or more in the rear of the Indians, was a dense thicket; on the right and left were precipitous descents into a gorge filled with pines and undergrowth, in which the natives concealed themselves almost perfectly from the view of the whites, who possessed no resources sufficient to dislodge them. The ridge being bare on top, the men were necessarily exposed, and some casualties resulted. Movements were made to get in the rear of this new position, but such attempts were futile. Several charges were made by the regulars, but ineffectually, although the men were for considerable periods within ten or twenty yards of the hostiles. The latter fought bravely and steadily, picking off the whites by a regular fire from their rifles, which were pitted against the inferior weapons of the troops, or at least of the regulars, two-thirds of whom had only the "musketoen," a short, smooth-bore weapon, discharging inaccurately a heavy round bullet, whose range was necessarily slight. About sunset the commanders concluded to retire from the field, and encamped for the night at Bloody Spring, as it was then named, some distance down the hill.

On the following morning Lieutenant Gibson, of the regulars, with ten men, proceeded up the hill to the battlefield, to secure the dead body of a private of his detachment, and when returning with it was pursued by the savages, who came down and attacked the camp in force. No damage was done except the wounding of Lieutenant Gibson, and after a time the savages were driven off. No further attempt against the Indians was made, and after advising with their officers, the two commanders decided to remove their troops from the vicinity. The total loss was thirty-one, of whom nine were killed, and twenty-two wounded. Several of the latter died of their injuries. The volunteers killed were Privates Jacob W. Miller, James Pearcy and Henry Pearl, of Rinearson's company; John Winters, of Williams'; and Jonathan A. Pedigo, of Harris'. The wounded were Privates William H. Crouch, Enoch Miller and Ephraim Tager, of Rinearson's; Thomas Ryan and William Stamms, of Williams'; L. F. Allen, John Goldsby, Thomas Gill, C. B. Hinton, William M. Hand, William I. Mayfield, William Purnell and William White, of Harris'; C. C. Goodwin, of Bruce's; and John Kennedy, of Welton's. The latter died on the seventh of Novem-

ber, and C. B. Hinton, in endeavoring to make his way alone to the Grave Creek House, lost his road and perished from exposure. This fight is known by the several names of the "Battle of Bloody Springs," "Battle of Hungry Hill," and "Battle in the Grave Creek Hills," and was practically a defeat.

Inclemency of the weather and inadequate clothing and accoutrements are ascribed as reasons for the failure of this campaign; but more especially an utter failure of the commissariat. The commissary and quartermaster departments were at fault, nor do they appear to have been efficiently administered at any time during the war, although their expenses (duly charged to the United States) were preposterously great. Figures are at hand to show that the expense of the latter department exceeded, for a time, eight hundred dollars per day! And this for transportation alone. A large number of Mexicans were borne on the rolls as packers, whose daily pay was six dollars, and who had the care and management of about one hundred and fifty pack animals, which were used in carrying supplies from Jacksonville or Crescent City to the seat of war. They belonged to the volunteer service, and were entirely distinct from the trains by which the regulars at Fort Lane were supplied. It was to this mismanagement the failure of the campaign was attributed, and apparently with considerable justice. As was customary at that date, a great deal of blame was cast upon the volunteers for their alleged failure to properly second the efforts of the Government troops. This charge is retorted upon Captain Smith's soldiers by counter-charges of similar tenor; and as neither side in the controversy is supported by any but interested evidence, we can not, at this date, satisfactorily discuss the question. The matter, however, is connected with the invariable tendency to antagonism, which shows itself on every similar occasion.

These preliminary engagements were followed by a complete organization of the hastily collected companies as designated in the proclamation of Governor Curry. John K. Lamerick was appointed Acting Adjutant General for the Southern Battalion, and reached Jacksonville a few days subsequent to the battle of Hungry Hill. About a dozen companies, of from twenty to eighty men each, applied to be mustered. Of these four—Bruce, Williams, Wilkinson, and Alcorn's—were mustered at Vannoy's Ferry on the tenth of

November, the others being disbanded. The battalion elected James Bruce Major, his only competitor being Captain R. L. Williams. The Northern Battalion perfected its organization somewhat earlier at Roseburg, electing William J. Martin Major on the twentieth of October. M. M. McCarver, who had been appointed Quartermaster General, established his headquarters at Roseburg. Major Martin's force consisted of five companies of one hundred and ten men each, considerably in excess of the number assigned in the proclamation. The company from Douglas County was commanded by Samuel Gordon; Jonathan Keeney was in command of the one from Linn, W. W. Chapman was Captain of the Umpqua company, and Joseph Bailey and — Buoy of the two from Lane. Major Martin established headquarters at Camp Leland, seven miles north of Grave Creek, and stationed detachments of his men at suitable points for the general protection of the whole region north of Rogue River—in Cow Creek Valley, Camas Valley, the Canyon, North Umpqua, and at Scottsburg. Detachments of the Southern Battalion were stationed at Evans' Ferry, Bowden's, on Grave Creek, and other points.

This disposition of the troops effectually prevented the Indians from reaching the more important settlements, and the savages, finding all avenues closed to the eastward, left Bloody Springs and passed down Rogue River, taking refuge in a region almost inaccessible because of its steep mountains, deep gorges and dense underbrush. The two battalions were mutually independent, though expected to co-operate. Their commanders arranged with Captain Smith for a joint campaign against the Indians, whose location on Rogue River had been discovered. Major Fitzgerald and his company of dragoons had been ordered to report for duty at Vancouver, much reducing the force of regulars at Fort Lane. Captain Judah, who was stationed at Fort Jones, was sent, by Captain Smith, to accompany the volunteers with all the troops which could be spared from those two posts. Here was the most unmilitary spectacle of three separate and distinct commands starting out upon a campaign, with no commander-in-chief and no definitely outlined plan of operations.

The line of march was taken up by Major Martin, Major Bruce, and Captain Judah on the twentieth of November, the latter taking

with him, with infinite difficulty, a clumsy mountain howitzer. A day or two later they encamped at the mouth of Whiskey Creek, and found traces of Indians. Proceeding down the river the next morning, keeping along the high lands back a mile or two from the stream, they found the Indians in strong force in the woods bordering the river. It was deemed proper to cross to the south side of the stream, and for this purpose Major Bruce proceeded with his battalion down the river, being then near the mouth of Jackass Creek, and attempted to cross. There was no discipline whatever. The commands were but newly organized, and each private considered his judgment as good as that of his officers. The men were scattered out over the bar, some engaged in constructing rafts and others in prospecting for gold. No effort was made to keep them in order by their officers, though they were almost in the presence of the enemy. The consequence was that when the Indians began firing upon them from out of the dense thicket on the opposite bank, the men made a wild rush for shelter in the forest above the bar. Although some of the officers made a vain effort to halt them and form a line, they preferred to take the advice of a fleeing Lieutenant and "break for the brush." While this was being done the commands of Martin and Judah lay upon the hill above and several miles distant, while the latter trained his piece in the direction of the enemy and awoke the echoes with its harmless bang. After continuing this amusement for some time the martial toy was strapped upon the back of a lusty mule, and the three commands marched back to their camps at Vannoy's Ferry, Fort Lane and Camp Leeland. Thus ended the First Meadows Campaign. William Lewis, of Kenney's company, was killed, five other volunteers were wounded, and one Indian scalp was taken home by the retiring troops.

The various companies were now detailed for guard duty at the more exposed places, and no regular campaign was again undertaken until spring. Though comparatively inactive, they served as a bulwark of safety to the settlements along Rogue River and the Umpqua. There were, however, a few war-like incidents before the close of the year, which served to show that the Indians were still hostile, and that the spirit of promiscuous extermination had not forsaken the whites. The first of these was the descent of some twenty or thirty Indians upon the Rice Settlement, at the mouth of

Looking Glass Creek, eight miles south of Roseburg. The hostiles burned Rice's house, captured some fire-arms, and did other damage. A small company of men, commanded by J. P. Day, went from Deer Creek to the scene and engaged and defeated the Indians on the second of December, killing three. The stolen guns, horses, etc., were re-captured. Castleman, a member of the company, was slightly wounded. The Indians were probably Cow Creeks who had not formally joined the forces of Limpy and George on the banks of Rogue River. Some few of the peaceable Umpquas resided in and around the pleasant vale of Looking Glass. When war broke out on Rogue River, these inoffensive people were gathered in Looking Glass Valley, occupying a rancheria on the creek, where they lived at peace with all the world, and ignorant and careless of everything outside of their own little sphere. In an evil hour certain white people of that vicinity, who imagined that they were dangerous neighbors, organized themselves into a company, and fell suddenly upon the helpless little community, and scattered them to the four winds. Several men and an old squaw were killed.

The people on Butte Creek, in Jackson County, had, with the first alarm of war, sought safety in a camp of log houses on Felix O'Neal's donation claim. Alcorn's company was recruited among the hardy settlers thereabouts, and subsequent to their return from the First Meadows Campaign, were posted in part at this fortified camp. Jake, a well-known chief of a small band of Indians, with his braves, had long inhabited that portion of the country and had refused to go on the reservation. On the night of December twenty-fourth Captain Alcorn marched to their rancheria and camped within a mile of it, in the cold and snow. At daybreak the next morning the troops moved within rifle range, and began to shoot. This they kept up until the natives were killed or dispersed, their loss being eight "bucks" killed, and the remainder wounded. One squaw was wounded in the jaw, and two men were captured. A similar affair, similarly managed, occurred at the same date between a detachment of Captain Rice's company and the Indians of a rancheria four miles north of Rogue River, and just below the mouth of Big Butte Creek. The Indians were taken by surprise, and after several hours' fighting, eighteen males were killed, twenty squaws

and children captured and the rancheria burned. On the same day twenty men of Bushey's company set out on a scouting tour to the neighborhood of Williams' Creek, where a portion of Old John's band were busying themselves in many a hostile way, much raised in self-esteem by the partial success of their bold leader since the war began. On the fourth day a detachment of seven men came upon the camp, and immediately attacked it, killing three braves and putting the others to flight.

Toward the last of December some scouts, near the forks of the Applegate, discovered that a body of Indians had taken possession of two deserted miners' cabins, and had gone into winter quarters there, preparing themselves for a state of siege by excavating the floors and piling the dirt against the walls. A body of sixty or more from Sterling went immediately to watch the cabins and prevent the Indians from escaping, while word was sent to various military companies. Captain Bushey arrived, and finding the position too strong for his small force, awaited the arrival of others. Capt. Smith sent Lieutenants Hagen and Underwood with twenty-five regulars and the inevitable howitzer; but the mule carrying the ammunition was so heedless as to fall into a deep creek and be killed, while the powder was ruined. More ammunition was sent for, and Lieutenant Switzer, with sixteen regulars, brought it on a mule. The regulars then fired a shell, which passed into or through a cabin and killed, as the records say, two savages. Before the howitzer's arrival the Indians had killed one man and wounded five. After the shell was fired, the regulars postponed further operations until the morrow, as night was near. When they arose the next morning the birds had flown and their cages were empty. A much regretted event occurred during the day; this was the killing of Martin Angell, of Jacksonville, who set out to accompany the regulars to the scene of the siege. When two and a half miles from Jacksonville, Angell and Walker, who were about two hundred and fifty yards in advance, were fired on by Indians concealed in the brush beside the road. Angell was killed instantly, four balls passing through his head and neck. On the same day (January 2) Charles W. Hull was hunting on the divide between Jackson and Jackass creeks, and becoming separated from his friends, was waylaid and murdered by Indians.

After it was found that the Indians had made their escape from the cabins, the regulars returned to the seclusion of Fort Lane, while Major Bruce, who had arrived upon the field, set out a few days later, with a portion of Rice, Williamson and Alcorn's companies, to follow the trail of the fleeing Indians to the west. The scouts came suddenly upon a single brave, who ran at the top of his speed directly to his camp. The savages, warned by the shouting of the pursued, prepared for a fight, and for quite a while resisted that part of Bruce's command which came into action, killing one man, Wiley Cash, of Alcorn's company, and seriously wounding Private Richardson, of O'Neal's company. Some ten or twelve horses, left unguarded by the whites, were taken by the Indians, and several more were shot. This fight occurred on the twenty-first of January, the locality being Murphy's Creek, tributary to the Applegate. Only twenty-five men participated at first, but Lieutenant Armstrong came up with a small reinforcement, and after a most plucky fight succeeded in saving the lives of the detachment. The total number of Indians engaged, under the leadership of John, was probably about fifty. No further active campaign was made until spring.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE YAKIMA, WALLA WALLA AND PUGET SOUND CAMPAIGNS.

Troops Concentrate at The Dalles—Conflict of Authority—An Incident at Vancouver—Block House Built at The Cascades—Efforts to Equip the Volunteers—Regulars and Volunteers March North from The Dalles—Plan of the Campaign—The Fight on the Banks of the Yakima and at the "Buttes"—Burning of the Catholic Mission Ends the Campaign—Efforts to Treat with Peu-peu-mox-mox—Prelude to the Walla Walla Campaign—Fort Henrietta—Regulars Refuse their Aid in a Useless Winter Campaign—Unfitness of the Volunteers for such a Campaign—Colonel Kelly Marches Against the Walla Wallas—Capture of Peu-peu-mox-mox Under a Flag of Truce—A Night of Suspense and Excitement—A Fruitless Antebreakfast March—Battle of Walla Walla—Killing of Peu-peu-mox-mox and other Prisoners—Ears and Scalp of the Chief Exhibited in the Willamette Valley—The Situation after the Battle—Killed and Wounded—Great Excitement in the Willamette when the News is Received—Oregonian Editorials on the Situation—General Wool Condemned—His Opinion of the War and the People's Opinion of Him—Governor Stevens Prefers Charges Against General Wool—Incidents Attending the Return of Governor Stevens from the Blackfoot Country—The Charges of the Irate Governor Pigeon-holed—The Situation During the Winter—Unpleasant Experiences of the Volunteers—Reinforcements sent to Walla Walla—Colonel Cornelius Resumes the Offensive—Horse Meat Causes a Mutiny—No Enemy Being Found, the Command Abandons the Walla Walla Country—Farewell Courtesies of Kama-i-akun—The Volunteers Disband Without Official Recognition of their Services—Honors Received

from the People—Two Companies raised to Guard the Columbia—Refrain of the "Horse-fed Volunteer"—The Political and Speculative Aspect of the Campaign—Governor Curry goes to Washington to Counteract the Influence of General Wool, and Secure an Appropriation to Defray the Expenses of the War.

THE ten companies called for by Governor Curry for service in the north were quickly recruited, and hastened to the general rendezvous at The Dalles, Colonel J. W. Nesmith in command. The regulars also concentrated there, commanded by Major G. J. Raines, of the 4th United States Infantry. The conflict of authority began at once. Major Raines notified Governor Curry that he stood ready to muster four companies into the United States service, to be commanded by officers of their own selection. This was the number he had requested. He said that he could not take the responsibility of enlisting a larger force, deeming it not required, nor could he arm and equip any of them unless regularly mustered into the service. His proposition was rejected, and the effort to place the volunteers on a war footing was continued. The two companies called for by Governor Mason were quickly raised, one at Vancouver and one at Olympia. Both were mustered into the regular service, the former under the command of William Strong and the latter of Gilmore Hays. The acting executive of Washington Territory pursued an opposite course to that taken by Governor Curry, and sought in every way to sustain and aid the regular army officers, instead of opposing them and endeavoring to conduct an independent campaign. To offset the supposed superiority of rank of the commander of the Oregon regiment, he commissioned Major Raines as Brigadier-General of Militia in Washington Territory. This conflict of rank, however, cut but a small figure, the two commands acting entirely independently, though co-operating, to a degree, in the first campaign.

While these preparations were progressing, an incident occurred at Vancouver which called for the services of Captain Strong's company. There was a village of a branch band of the Klickitat tribe at the mouth of Lewis River, opposite St. Helens, which was a source of apprehension to the people. A number of the warriors

were known to have crossed the mountains to join the hostile Yakimas; and as a precautionary measure, a party of thirty men from Vancouver went to the rancheria and escorted the thirty remaining warriors and their families back to that city, where they were disarmed and instructed to remain in peace. This party was headed by T. H. Smith, Special Indian Agent. On the eighth of November the captives, to the number of one hundred and fifty, stampeded for the Yakima country, and were pursued by Captain Strong's company and a few regulars. In about ten days they were all brought back, except Umtux, the chief, who had been killed in some mysterious way, no one being able to tell "how it happened." At the same time a block-house was built at the Cascades by Captain Wallan, who mounted upon it a six-pound cannon and garrisoned it with a detachment of ten men from his company.

Colonel Nesmith had command of the Oregon volunteers by virtue of his rank as Brigadier General of Militia; but soon after the companies reached The Dalles an election was held for line officers, in accordance with instructions from Governor Curry. This resulted in the choice of J. W. Nesmith, Colonel; J. K. Kelly, Lieutenant-Colonel; A. N. Armstrong, First Major; M. A. Chinn, Second Major. Colonel Nesmith's election was almost unanimous—the vote standing five hundred and eighty-three to forty-one—and undoubtedly his equal could not have been found in the Territory. With infinite difficulty and persevering energy he secured arms, ammunition, horses, supplies, etc., and was prepared to move almost as soon as the regulars, who encountered no such difficulties. An application to Major Raines for arms and equipments was refused, on the ground that he was not authorized to issue them to any but troops in the United States service. Major Raines was, however, very anxious that something should be accomplished, and partially supplied them under the militia law of the country, which entitled every Territory to draw a certain amount of arms and ammunition from the Government. Still they were not ready to take the field. Major Raines, as a last effort at a compromise, offered to muster the whole force into the regular service, with Colonel Nesmith in command as Major, and equip them from the Government stores, but the offer was declined. He then began his march into the Yakima country with the regulars, informing Colonel Nesmith

that if his command was defeated by reason of its inferior numbers, the blame would rest with the volunteers, who, by refusing to be mustered into the service, prevented themselves from being equipped and taking part in the campaign. A few days later Colonel Nesmith was so far prepared with a portion of his command as to feel justified in taking the field for a short campaign. He accordingly hastened to overtake Major Raines with some four hundred men, leaving the remainder at The Dalles under command of Major Chinn. The volunteers and regulars were united on the third of November, and continued the march together.

The plan of the campaign embraced an invasion from two directions. Besides the force marching north from The Dalles, Captain Maloney was instructed to enter the Yakima country by way of the Natchess Pass with his company of the 4th Infantry and Captain Hays' company of volunteers, and to form a junction with Major Raines. The movements of Captain Maloney's command will be detailed later. It is sufficient to say that this force did not participate in the Yakima campaign, though its supposed movements served to complicate matters considerably, and caused much needless anxiety. As the united forces passed through the Indian country they found and destroyed, or used, about ten thousand pounds of provisions the enemy had secreted, chiefly dried salmon and camas. On the morning of the eighth of November Captain Cornelius, with seventy men, made a detour to the left from the night's camp on Simcoe Creek. Towards evening the main body reached the Yakima and went into camp, the regulars some two miles in advance. Major Raines soon discovered Indians in the bushes on the opposite bank of the stream, and opened upon them, at the same time dispatching a courier to Colonel Nesmith. The latter dashed away to the front at the head of sixty men, where he found the regulars and Indians passing leaden compliments with the river flowing between them. He at once commenced searching for a ford, found it, crossed the stream, and dislodging the savages, followed them ineffectually until they took refuge in the direction of the "Buttes" to the northeast. He then withdrew and went into camp. Lieutenant Phil. Sheridan, at the head of some twenty United States dragoons followed the force under Colonel Nesmith across the river, and gallantly joined the successful advance. That

evening Captain Cornelius reached Nesmith's camp, having been engaged during the greater part of the afternoon with a large body of Indians, in which three of his men and several horses had received wounds.

On the morning of November 9, the entire force moved in the direction of a gap in the hills through which flows the Yakima River, at a point known as the "Two Buttes." The advance guard consisted of companies commanded by Captains Cornelius, Hembree and Bennett. These drove the Indians from their lurking places in the bushes along the river until all—some three hundred—had fallen back and taken possession of their rude fortifications upon the "Buttes." At first a howitzer was tried, but, for want of sufficient elevation, it failed to reach the enemy. Then Major Haller and Captain (now General) Augur with their commands, aided by a force of volunteers, charged up the rugged, broken face of the mountain, the Indians fleeing down the opposite side. The savages had made no resistance; consequently no one was hurt. That night the whites camped at the base of the "Buttes," and the Indians re-occupied the abandoned heights; but in the morning they were again dislodged with a loss of two killed. The capture of their entire force at this time only failed through the misconception of orders by Lieutenant D. B. Hannah. The Indians at once abandoned that section of country, and there was no more fighting, save a little skirmishing with a few straggling bands in the valley. At night the troops bivouacked by the Atahnum River, some two miles east of the Catholic Mission.

Up to this time no communication had been received from Captain Maloney, and fears were entertained that the entire force of Indians had gone in the direction of the Natchess Pass for the purpose of overwhelming him by numbers. Colonel Nesmith, with two hundred and fifty men, among whom were Phil. Sheridan and his dragoons, started on the morning of November 11, with a view of rendering assistance to Captain Maloney if he needed it, or at least to open communication with him. A violent snow storm setting in, he was forced to return; and, after an absence of three days, his tents were pitched at the old Catholic Mission, where the main force under Major Raines had preceded him. While stationed there the troops "accidentally" burned the mission building, a rude

structure formed of poles and mud. On the fifteenth a council of war decided unanimously that the reduced commissary supplies warranted an immediate return to The Dalles, and the line of march was at once taken up. Thus ended the Yakima campaign.

While the troops were first assembling at The Dalles an effort had been made to placate the great and influential chief of the Walla Walla, whose signature to the treaty had been secured only after great concessions to him individually, and whose former friendship for Americans had been changed to hatred by the unprovoked murder of his son at Sutter's Fort, in California, a few years before. The chief cause of anxiety was the small party of Governor Stevens, which, in the event of the joining of the Walla Walla and Cayuses in the war, would be cut off from any avenue of return which did not lead through a hostile country. It is doubtful, however, if he would have been molested had the subsequent campaign in that region not been undertaken. To accomplish the desired end Nathan Olney, the Indian Agent, started from The Dalles with five hundred dollars in silver and some presents of goods to pay Peu-peu-mox-mox the first installment due him under the treaty. He was accompanied on the journey only by Ta-be-bo, a half-breed, and A. P. Woodard. On their arrival, October 12, at Old Fort Walla Walla, near the mouth of the river of that name, they were cordially received by James Sinclair, who, with three or four men, had charge of the fort as representative of the Hudson's Bay Company. Peu-peu-mox-mox was sent for and told that the promised money and goods awaited him, but he returned a sullen and defiant reply. He repudiated the treaty; said he would accept neither presents nor money from the Government, and wanted the whites to leave his country. A council between the Agent and Sinclair resulted in a determination to abandon the fort. The surplus ammunition, stored there by the Hudson's Bay Company, was taken out in a boat and dumped in the Columbia River, to prevent its falling into the hands of Indians. Then the settlers, the Hudson's Bay men, and a number of miners who had reached this point from Colville, started for The Dalles, leaving the hostile country east of the Cascade Mountains untenanted, save by a few old employees of the company who were married to Indian women. Narcisse Remond, who enjoyed immunity from molestation because of

his former connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, was commissioned by Mr. Olney to remain and report upon the conduct of the suspected tribes. This wholesale abandonment of the country was accepted by the Indians as an invitation to do as they pleased with what had been left behind. They burned the Umatilla Mission, in which had been stored a quantity of supplies by Governor Stevens, plundered McKay's house and other places, drove the cattle of Brooke, Bumford and Noble away from Waiilatpu, and took possession of and pillaged Fort Walla Walla. This was done by Yakima and Palouse Indians, assisted by certain factions of the Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Umatillas. Howlish-Wampoo, head chief of the Cayuses, endeavored in vain to prevent the Yakimas and Palouses from driving the cattle away from Waiilatpu. The Walla Walla affair was the work of Peu-peu-mox-mox and his followers. On the whole these acts can hardly be considered as a sufficient cause for an invasion of their country by the forces of Governor Curry, at an expense of millions of dollars to the General Government. If protection of the settlers in the Willamette, along the lower Columbia and on Puget Sound, was desired, that object could have been more effectually accomplished by guarding the lines of approach. By leaving these open and invading the Indian country, they not only invited the danger they apprehended, but showed that on the part of the leaders, at least, the war was an offensive, and not a defensive, one. Even if an invasion were in any event to be feared, it certainly could not be made until spring, the routes through the mountains being, with the aid of a few troops, sufficiently guarded from approach by the icy hand of winter. Furthermore, this conduct on the part of the Indians was not known until after the campaign had been decided upon and a force dispatched from The Dalles to begin its execution. The rescue of Governor Stevens from possible attack by the disaffected Walla Wallas or Cayuses, then, could be the only excuse for sending an armed force into the Walla Walla country; but this object in itself by no means required so long a campaign—continuing some months after the Governor's return—nor the employment of so large an army at such an enormous outlay. The safe return of His Excellency could have been accomplished at a comparatively trifling expense.

Without waiting for the information expected from Mr. Remond, Governor Curry decided to invade the Walla Walla country in force. He dispatched two companies on the seventh of November to reinforce Colonel Nesmith in the Yakima country, and at the same time sending orders for him to proceed directly to Fort Walla Walla, where he would be joined by one hundred and fifty men from The Dalles. The reinforcements lost their way, and failed to reach Colonel Nesmith until they met him on the seventeenth in the Simcoe Mountains, on his way back to The Dalles. It was then impossible to obey the Governor's instructions, and Colonel Nesmith continued his homeward march to The Dalles. Meanwhile, on the twelfth, Major Chinn started with two companies for Fort Walla Walla, along the south bank of the Columbia. On the night of the seventeenth they encamped at Well Springs, where they were joined by two couriers from Narcisse Remond with intelligence from the Walla Walla country, the substance of which has been previously given. This information caused Major Chinn to abandon the march for Fort Walla Walla, and to proceed to the site of the burned Catholic Mission on the Umatilla, to await reinforcements, for which he dispatched a courier. He there erected defensive works, and on the twenty-first sent another courier asking for two more companies and some artillery. He thus describes Fort Henrietta: "We have an abundance of timber and water, and tolerable grass for stock. We have picketed in with large split timber one hundred feet square of ground, and erected two bastions, of round logs, on two of the angles; and from the rails found here made two corrals for the horses and cattle. This, as a defence, is good against any body of Indians."

Considerable excitement was created at The Dalles by the intelligence brought in from Major Chinn. It was at once assumed that his command was in a perilous situation, and must be immediately reinforced to preserve it from disaster. The companies of Captains Munson, Wilson and Cornoyer, consisting of some one hundred and seventy-five men, were at once sent forward, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel James K. Kelly, who was to take command of the whole battalion. Application was made by Colonel Nesmith to Major Raines for two howitzers and artillerymen to man them, stating that he had preferred a similar request to General Wool, at

Vancouver, but could not delay action for a reply. In this letter he quoted, with telling effect, a few lines which had been addressed to him by Major Raines, as he started upon the Yakima campaign, reproaching him for obstructing the movements of his allies and permitting them to encounter the enemy unaided. General Wool had arrived from San Francisco a few days before, bringing sixty regulars, two thousand stand of arms, and three hundred tons of stores and ammunition. He was in ill-health, and did not visit the seat of operations at The Dalles, but remained at headquarters in Vancouver. He received the reports of his subordinates as to the cause of hostility and the present situation, and came to the conclusion that there was no necessity for a war and no need of a winter campaign. With the regular troops to occupy the Columbia there was no danger of invasion of the Willamette, and all that was required to end the war was for the volunteers to return home and disband. Such was the opinion of the commander of the department, and it must be confessed that he was, in the main, correct. Such a line of conduct would have saved the lives of a score of brave volunteers and the Government many thousands of dollars, though, to be sure, not so profitable to the contractor and those whose patriotism was confined to questionable dealings with the commissary department. With troops stationed at The Dalles, Cascades, Vancouver, and suitable points on Puget Sound, no attack need be feared from the Eastern Indians until spring, even assuming that they were disposed to risk an invasion of the settlements at all. A whole regiment of regulars was on the way and would arrive in ample time to participate in a campaign in the spring, if one should prove to be necessary. It was certainly the duty of Governor Curry to recall Major Chinn and disband the volunteer army, or, at least, the greater portion of it. If necessary, the safe return of Governor Stevens could have been provided for by sending him an armed escort to accompany him home after he had reached the friendly Nez Percés. General Wool, consequently, refused to furnish howitzers, or to participate in the proposed campaign in any way, and withdrew his forces to winter quarters at Vancouver, including the Washington Territory volunteers.

The absurdity of undertaking a winter campaign so far away from the base of supplies becomes still more apparent by the fol-

lowing quotation from the report of Colonel Nesmith of the condition of his command upon their return from only three weeks' campaigning in the Yakima country:

Many of the men were frost-bitten on the late expedition, and can hardly be said to be fit for duty. An inspection of horses has been had at camp, and about one-fourth of the whole number were found fitted for present duty. About one-half of the men composing the whole command desire their discharge. I have given a few discharges upon the written report of the surgeon, stating that the men were unfit for duty. I have, also, granted furloughs to a few of the men who have urgent business requiring their personal attention for short periods; and am now anxiously awaiting orders for the disposition of the remainder of the command.

* * * * * The right column, which was under my immediate command, suffered intensely during the campaign, for want of tents to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. My requisition for tents is still unfilled. There is much justifiable complaint on the part of the men, by reason of their exposed condition.

On the twenty-eighth he forwarded to Colonel Kelly the companies of Captains Bennett and Cornelius, increasing the force in the field to four hundred and seventy-five men, besides two companies under Major Armstrong, in the vicinity of the Des Chutes and John Day rivers. He then started for the Willamette Valley for a temporary absence, leaving Captain Farrar in command at The Dalles, but soon after reaching Portland resigned his commission and retired to private life. While preparations were being made for this campaign the *Oregonian* editorially commented upon the selfishness, greed and want of patriotism on the part of the people, who demanded enormous prices for everything furnished for the use of the troops.

Colonel Kelly reached Fort Henrietta on the twenty-ninth of November, and learning that the Indians were in force in the vicinity of Fort Walla Walla, determined to march upon them without delay. His command moved on the fifth of December in two divisions. Major Chinn, with one hundred and fifty men and all the baggage, proceeded to the mouth of the Touchet River, while Colonel Kelly, with two hundred men, unincumbered, moved up the stream for the purpose, as his subsequent report declares, "of attacking the Walla Wallas," who were supposed to be encamped there. As they proceeded up the Touchet, Captain Cornoyer and a few of his company of scouts marched a long distance in advance. Suddenly, while approaching the summit of a hill, several Indians appeared in his immediate front, advancing from the oppo-

site side of the crest. In an instant the Captain's gun was leveled upon the one in advance, but, before he could fire, a flag of truce was discovered in the hand of the savage; and the Captain's companions cried out, "Don't shoot! don't shoot! it's Peu-peu-mox-mox!" A parley followed; but, while it was going on, the Captain discovered a band of about one hundred and fifty Indians on horse-back, advancing in the direction from which the chief had come. In a twinkling his gun again covered Peu-peu-mox-mox, who was told that if his followers continued to approach, his own life would pay the forfeit; and, at a signal accompanied by a peculiar cry, the advancing party halted as if by magic, every one of whom dismounted and stood by his horse. The Chief asked if Nathan Olney, the Indian Agent, was with the soldiers; and on being told that he was, expressed a desire to see him. He stated that he wanted no fighting; that he had determined at first to make war on the whites, but, after reflection, had concluded that it was not policy for his people to do so; that he was willing to make all amends that lay in his power for what his tribe had done; and was anxious to secure a permanent peace. The Captain sent one of his men back to report, asking Colonel Kelly to come with Olney and meet the flag of truce party. Accordingly, the volunteers were halted in plain sight of the little squad on the hill, while the parties indicated, with John McBean for interpreter, went forward to meet the redoubtable chief.

Considerable time was consumed in the conference; and, as it passed, gradually the main body of both Indians and volunteers approached the central group until all were together, the soldiers surrounding the flag party with the main force of Indians on the outside. Finally, the entire body moved toward the Indian village, until it was discovered that the trail they were following passed through a dangerous canyon, when another halt was made. A portion of the troops had already entered the canyon, among whom was Captain Cornoyer, who, on turning back to learn what caused the delay, found that fears were entertained by some of the officers that treachery was intended by Peu-peu-mox-mox. Captains Cornoyer, Bennett, and others were of a different opinion; they said treachery on his part would cost him his life, and he knew it. "Put him in my charge," said Captain Cornoyer, "he will then know that

the first gun fired upon our ranks will be a signal of his own death, and there will be no danger. Let us go to their village to-night, and the peace he promises will be a certainty, for we will have them all in our power." This advice was not taken. Colonel Kelly and Nathan Olney insisted that if his professions were in good faith, they could be carried out the next day just as well as to run the risk of a dangerous pass that evening; and it was determined to move back on the trail a short distance and camp, supperless, for the night. The flag of truce Indians were taken with them, under close guard, as disarmed prisoners, held as hostages for the good conduct of the others until the next day, the chief being informed that he must so remain with them or his village would at once be attacked.

That night the camp and its vicinity were the scene of stormy councils and of stormy elements. The volunteers were tired, hungry and dissatisfied, while the inhospitable elements, shedding their fleecy carpet of snow upon the ground for the soldiers to lie upon, made them angry and almost mutinous, in their belief that it was the prisoner's fault that had placed them in their disagreeable position. "Shoot the damned Indians!" was a cry frequently heard from different parts of the camp, and the captives became restless and ill at ease, believing that their lives were in danger. The chief requested to be given his freedom, and some of the officers were in favor of permitting him to go, while others were not. Finally, an Indian appeared on an adjacent hill who desired to talk with the chief, but would not come in; and Captain Cornoyer went out to talk with him, accompanied by several, among whom was John McBean, the interpreter. The interview was unsatisfactory, as the Indian seemed only desirous of being heard by the captive chief, and talked in a very loud voice. What he said was not made clear to the Captain and his associates, and, concluding that all was not right, they took the loud-voiced messenger back with them a prisoner into camp. At different times in the night Indians came around upon the hills and shouted communications to the chief, who told his captors that his people were becoming frightened for their own safety and his. Morning revealed the fact that the camp had been surrounded during the night by a cordon of mounted Indians, who evidently had listened to the

threats, dissensions, and unfriendly talk in the volunteer camp, which was enough, in combination with the fact that their chief was a prisoner, to make them fear treachery on the part of the whites.

All existing evidence goes to prove that this great Walla Walla leader came to sue for peace in good faith; that his advances were received with mistrust; that he was taken prisoner while under a flag of truce, to make sure that he would do what he affirmed a willingness to do; and that the actions and talk in camp that night made both him and his followers fear treachery from the whites, which caused the Indians to alter their plans. This change in policy was evidently made known to *Peu-peu-mox-mox* by those who shouted messages to him from the surrounding hills. In doing this they used the Cayuse tongue, a language unknown to the interpreter, and one not in general use, even by the Cayuse tribe themselves, *Nez Perce* being the common language of all these Indians. The next morning the captive chief, in pursuance of the new plans, secured a delay in moving, by urging that his people needed time to prepare breakfast for so many men. Shortly before noon the march was taken up, the dangerous canyon passed, and the village reached; but no smoking repast or cordial welcome awaited them. The village was deserted, and as the hungry and disappointed men gathered around the still smoldering camp-fires, they knew that a battle must be fought. Straggling Indians could be seen on the surrounding hills, and three of them, one a son of the captive chief, came within speaking distance and demanded to see the prisoner. The son was persuaded to enter the camp, upon assurance of safety, and when he did so the father told him he wanted his people all to come in and make peace. The young man went away saying that he would do as requested, but nothing further was heard from him; and, finally, Colonel Kelly proceeded to march his hungry command "to the mouth of the Touchet, with a view of going from thence to some spot near Whitman's Station, where I had intended to form a permanent camp for the winter." His report continues thus: "On the morning of the seventh, companies H and K crossed the Touchet, leading the column on the route to Whitman's Valley, and when formed on the plain were joined by Company B. A few persons in front were driving our

cattle, and a few were on the flanks of the companies and near the foot of the hills that extend along the river. These persons, as well as I can ascertain, were fired on by the Indians." It is asserted, however, by members of Company B, that one of the flankers of that company, a man called "Jont," fired the first shot, which was returned by the savages. Companies A and F were detailed to guard the baggage, and the remainder of the command made an immediate attack upon the enemy. The Indians were pursued a distance of seven miles across the hills and up the Walla Walla River, a running fight being kept up, until they made a temporary stand on Dry Creek. They again fled; but four miles beyond Dry Creek they made a determined stand, near the cabin of a French Canadian named "La Rocque," where a desperate battle occurred. Their line extended from the hills across the flat to the river. Along the stream was a thick growth of cotton wood and underbrush, while the flat was covered with sage brush and sand knolls. These all furnished a good screen for Indians on foot, while mounted ones lined the hillsides. The report says:—

When the volunteers reached this point there were not more than forty or fifty men, being those mounted upon the fleetest horses. Upon these the Indians poured a murderous fire from the brushwood and willows along the river, and from the sage bushes along the plain, wounding a number of the volunteers. The men fell back. The moment was critical. They were commanded to cross the fence which surrounds La Rocque's field and charge upon the Indians in the brush. In executing this order Lieutenant Burrows, of Company H, was killed, and Captain Munson, of Company I, Isaac Miller, Sergeant-Major, and G. W. Smith, of Company B, were wounded. A dispatch having been sent to Captain Wilson, of Company A, to come forward, he and his company came up on a gallop, dismounted at a slough, and with fixed bayonets pushed on through the brush. In the course of half an hour Captain Bennett was on the ground with Company F, and with this accession the enemy were steadily driven forward for two miles, when they took possession of a farm house and close fence (Tellier's), in attempting to carry which Captain Bennett, of Company F, and Private Kelso, of Company A, were killed. A howitzer found at Fort Walla Walla, under charge of Captain Wilson, by this time was brought to bear upon the enemy. Four rounds were fired when the piece burst, wounding Captain Wilson. The Indians then gave way at all points; the house and fence were seized and held by the volunteers and the bodies of our men were recovered. These positions were held by them until nightfall, when the volunteers fell slowly back and returned unmolested, to camp around the cabin of La Rocque during the night.

While the battle was progressing, there was enacted a scene which furnished General Wool with material for one of the most telling of his reflections upon the spirit evinced by the people in

the conduct of the war. This was the killing of Peu-peu-mox-mox while a prisoner, held in duress in defiance of the rules of civilized war which guarantee the sanctity of a flag of truce. The details of this affair, as related by several eye-witnesses and participants, were as follows: The surgeons had decided to use LaRocque's cabin, where the Indians had made their first stand, as a hospital for the wounded. Near it the unfortunate Lieutenant J. M. Burrows lay dead, and several wounded were being attended to. The combatants had passed on up the valley, and the distant detonation of their guns could be heard. The flag of truce prisoners were there under guard, and every one seemed electrified with suppressed excitement. A wounded man came in with his shattered arm dangling at his side, and reported Captain Bennett killed at the front. This added to the excitement, and the attention of all was more or less attracted to the wounded man, when some one said, "Look out, or the Indians will get away!" At this, seemingly, every one yelled, "Shoot 'em! Shoot 'em!" and on the instant there was a rattle of musketry on all sides. It was over in a minute, and three of the five prisoners lay dead, another was rendered insensible by a blow, but recovering in a few moments was shot to end his misery; the fifth, being a Nez Perce, was spared, and the fact that they were able to control their excitement sufficiently to make this nice discrimination shows there was a "method in their madness." Some of the witnesses say the shooting was caused by an attempt on the part of the prisoners to escape, but the greater number state that a refusal by Peu-peu-mox-mox to be tied led to a struggle which ended as above. The men were angry and preferred the excitement of the fight to the unpleasant duty of guarding Indians, and took the first good opportunity which offered to rid themselves of their incumbrances. Only one had an opportunity given him to fight for his life. This was a Willamette Indian named "Jim" or "Wolf Skin," who had a knife upon his person. Drawing this he fought desperately until he was laid low with a blow on the head from a musket in the hands of a soldier who had approached him from behind. The dead prisoners were scalped in true barbaric style. This was not the end; the scalp and ears of the great "Yellow Bird" were taken to the Willamette Valley as trophies of war, though at this late date it is difficult to conceive how the ears of a

slain prisoner, who had been captured under a flag of truce, could be looked upon in the light of honorable trophies of war. There is no question about this fact, and there are living in Oregon to-day many before whose eyes these trophies were displayed. The *Oregonian* of January 5, 1856, records the fact that on the thirty-first of December Dr. Shaw, Assistant Surgeon O. M. V., arrived in Portland, having in his possession the ears of *Peu-peu-mox-mox*, accompanied by Mr. Story, of Company A, who displayed the same chief's scalp. It can well be imagined with what telling effect General Wool related this incident in his official report, his various newspaper communications and private letters.

The battle was renewed the following day and lasted four days longer. The incidents, as reported by Colonel Kelly, were as follows:—

Early on the morning of the eighth the Indians appeared with increased forces, amounting to fully six hundred warriors. They were posted as usual in the thick brush by the river—among the sage bushes and sand knolls, and on the surrounding hills. This day Lieutenant Pillow with Company A, and Lieutenant Hannon with Company H, were ordered to take and hold the brush skirting the river and sage bushes on the plain. Lieutenant Fellows with Company F was directed to take and keep the possession of the point at the foot of the hill. Lieutenant Jeffries with Company B, Lieutenant Hand with Company I, and Captain Cornoyer with Company K, were posted on three several points on the hills with orders to maintain them and to assail the enemy on other points of the same hills. As usual, the Indians were driven from their position, although they fought with skill and bravery. On the ninth they did not make their appearance until about ten o'clock in the morning, and then in somewhat diminished numbers. As I had sent to Fort Henrietta for Companies D and E, and expected them on the tenth, I thought it best to act on the defensive and hold our positions which were the same as on the eighth, until we could get an accession to our forces sufficient to enable us to assail their rear and cut off their retreat. An attack was made during the day on Companies A and H in the brushwood, and upon B on the hill, both of which were repulsed with great gallantry by those companies, and with considerable loss to the enemy. Companies F, I and K also did great honor to themselves in repelling all approaches to their positions, although in doing so one man in Company F and one in Company I were severely wounded. Darkness as usual closed the combat, by the enemy withdrawing from the field. Owing to the inclemency of the night the companies on the hill were withdrawn from their several positions, Company B abandoning its rifle pits which were made by the men of that company for its protection. At early dawn on the next day the Indians were observed from our camp to be in possession of all points held by us on the preceding day. Upon seeing them Lieutenant McAuliff of Company B gallantly observed that his company had dug those holes and after breakfast they would have them again, and well was his declaration fulfilled, for in less than half an hour, the enemy was driven from the pits and fled to an adjoining hill which they had occupied the day before. This position was at once assailed. Captain Cornoyer with Company K, and a portion of Company I, being mounted, gallantly charged the enemy on his right flank,

while Lieutenant McAuliff with Company B dismounted, rushed up the hill in face of a heavy fire and scattered them in all directions. They at once fled in all directions to return to this battlefield no more, and thus ended our long contested fight.

The bravery of the volunteers and their gallant conduct in charging and dispersing the enemy time after time, is worthy the highest praise. Veteran troops could not have done better service. The report says that it was learned from friendly Indians that the battle was participated in by Walla Wallas, Umatillas, Cayuses, Palouses, and Stock Whitley's band of Des Chutes; and that after their defeat some of them went to Grand Ronde and others crossed to the north side of Snake River, while Stock Whitley, disgusted with the manner in which the others had fought, took his band to the Yakima country to join Kama-i-akun. The Indians were pursued a distance towards Snake River, and much provisions and cattle were captured. Narcisse Remond and the other French Canadians on the Walla Walla, appealed for protection, and were escorted to the temporary camp where they were exempt from danger of molestation. The report concludes :—

We have now the undisputed possession of the country south of Snake River, and I would suggest the propriety of retaining this possession until such time as it can be occupied by the regular troops; * * * but I would suggest the propriety of following up the Indians with all possible speed, now that their hopes are blighted and their spirits broken. Unless this is done they will perhaps rally again. I must earnestly ask that supplies may be sent forward to us without delay. For the last three days none of the volunteers, except the two companies from Fort Henrietta, have had any flour. None is here, and but little at that post. We are now living on beef and potatoes, which are found *en cache*, and the men are becoming much discontented with this mode of living. Clothing for the men is much needed as the winter approaches. To-morrow we will remove to a more suitable point, where grass can be obtained in greater abundance for our worn-out horses. A place has been selected about two miles above Whitman Station, on the same (north) side of the Walla Walla, consequently I will abandon this fort, named in honor of Captain Bennett of Company F, who now sleeps beneath its stockade, and whose career of usefulness and bravery was here so sadly but nobly closed.

The losses sustained by the volunteers in the five days' conflict were comparatively slight, only twenty being injured in any way. The list is as follows: Killed, Captain Charles Bennett, Company F; Lieutenant J. M. Burrows, Company H; Private S. S. Van Hagerman, Company I. Mortally wounded, Privates Kelso and Joseph Flemming, Company A; Henry Crow, Company H; Joseph Sturdevant, Company B. Wounded, Captain Lyman B. Monson, Company I; Captain A. V. Wilson, Company A; Captain Davis

Layton, Company H; Privates Casper Snook, T. J. Payne, F. Crabtree, Nathan Fry, Isaac Miller and A. M. Addington, Company H; J. B. Gervais, Company K; G. W. Smith, Company B; Franklin Duval, Company A; and Sergeant Major Isaac Miller. The loss of the Indians was placed by Colonel Kelly at about seventy-five, his report stating that thirty-nine bodies had been found by the volunteers. It is difficult to understand the reason for such a marked contrast in the losses sustained by the two sides, especially since the volunteers acted on the offensive and the Indians only fought when protected by natural defenses. The tendency to over-estimate the loss of the defeated enemy is not confined to Oregon; it is as widespread as the earth's green carpet. The total footing of the estimated loss of the enemy reported by the commanders of the opposing forces during the Rebellion, was far in excess of the actual number of killed, wounded and captured in both the Confederate and Union armies, including the deaths from disease, to which can be charged fully fifty per cent. of the mortality of war.

News of the battle of Walla Walla reached The Dalles at the time General Wool was removing the regulars to Vancouver. The courier who brought the first intelligence had left the scene of conflict while the fight of the second day was raging, and, consequently, could only say that a great battle was in progress, several volunteers had been killed, and the result was yet in doubt. Adhering to his determination to let the volunteers conduct their operations—needless, in his opinion—unaided by the regular troops, the commander apparently paid no attention to the startling intelligence of the courier, who took passage from The Dalles upon the very boat which conveyed the troops to Vancouver. Not so the people. Excitement was raised to a high pitch, and many uncomplimentary remarks were made about the indifferent conduct of the troops. The *Oregonian* was especially bitter in its denunciations, calling attention to the circumstances of the courier and troops being upon the same steamer, in the following language:—

It looks bad, to say the least, that a steamer should be loaded with U. S. troops coming out of the Indian country at the same time that news was being brought down of a severe and bloody conflict of five days' duration, between the volunteers and a large body of Indians; particularly so when the volunteers were nearly out of provisions, short of ammunition, and entirely destitute of other necessary articles

to carry out the war; and, withal, far in the Indian country, and, for aught anybody knew, surrounded by the enemy and in danger of being cut off entirely. Are the people, the civilians, to protect themselves and defend the country from barbarian marauders, while those who have contracted for that service remain idle and listless in their winter quarters, eating, drinking, and making merry?

Also appeared the following remarks on the state of the war:—

How goes on the war? We answer, that the U. S. troops, who are paid for fighting, and who have been sent here at the expense of the General Government to protect the people, are all housed up in good winter quarters, eating, drinking, and making merry, while a few bare-footed, half-starved volunteers, who came here at their own expense, are in the field fighting the battles of their country. In every fight north, they came out first best. Thus goes the war. Volunteers can go bare-footed, can sleep without blankets, eat their horses, if need be, while the "carpet knights" [he would have called them "Dudes" in this age of more ample epithetical vocabulary] of the regular service must be well fed, well shod, and well blanketed, and have *howitzers*, withal, or they can not take the field. The carcasses of one hundred and fifty dead Indians at Walla Walla plains show how goes on the war.

Mr. Dryer, thinking Colonel Kelly's estimate of the number of "good Indians," made at Walla Walla, too modest, multiplied it by two. It was a little reckless under the circumstances, but such was the style of that paper when under that enthusiastic gentleman's management. These uncomplimentary remarks were brought to the attention of General Wool, and the old veteran replied to the effect that he professed to do his duty as he understood it; that the people of Oregon might say what they pleased, it was not the first time he had had dogs barking at his heels. This was too much for the *Oregonian*; it smote General Wool hip and thigh; said he was in his dotage, was an old woman, had insulted the people and called them dogs. The object of these fierce tirades made no reply, yet it may well be imagined that they only served to make him more set in his purpose to pay no attention whatever to the movements of Governor Curry's army, but to act entirely upon his own responsibility at his own chosen time. He had decided to occupy the Indian country with a strong force in the spring, and was awaiting the arrival of the 9th regiment to enable him to do so. In January he ordered Captain (now General) Ord's company of dragoons to San Francisco, and was abused for sending troops out of the country and depriving the people of the protection they had a right to expect from the Government. These complaints were soon silenced by the arrival of the 9th regiment, six hundred of whom were landed at Vancouver the last week in January

by the steamers *Oregon* and *Republic*, two hundred more being sent to the Sound. The San Francisco papers published interviews with the General, who had returned to that city, in which he was made to state that the troubles in Oregon were caused in both cases by the whites, and that along the Columbia there was no war other than that created by the unwarranted conduct of Governor Curry in sending Oregon troops into Washington Territory, at great expense to the Government, to attack Indians from whom the people of Oregon had no reason to apprehend any danger to themselves whatever. This drew out two columns of the "Oregon style" from the exasperated editor of the *Oregonian*, was severely commented upon by the other papers, and caused much indignation among the people generally. It was at this time General Wool wrote the letter to the *National Intelligencer*, which has been referred to, giving a history of the cause and progress of the war, and laying particular stress upon the killing and mutilation of *Peu-peu-mox-mox*. It was several months before a copy of this reached Oregon, but when it did another baptism of wrath was showered upon the gray hairs of the Mexican hero. On the ninth of February the Oregon Legislature addressed a memorial to the President, requesting the removal of General Wool from command of this department. About the same time, Governor Stevens, who had returned in safety, addressed a long communication to the Secretary of War, stating his personal grievances and preferring charges against General Wool. He made it appear that his immediate and safe return was the great question of the hour, and in neglecting, or refusing, to provide for this the commanding officer had been guilty of a most heinous crime. General Wool had taken the view that Governor Stevens' party was able to look out for itself; that if the executive of Washington Territory did not return to the seat of Government for six months, the material interests of the Territory would not be in the least jeopardized; at least the necessity of his immediate return was not great enough to justify him in making an invasion of the Indian country in the dead of winter. Governor Stevens' opinion of his own importance seems to have been somewhat greater than this. From this letter of the Governor are gleaned the incidents attending his return journey. At the Hellgate he was met by fourteen Nez Perces, among whom were

Spotted Eagle, Looking Glass and Three Feathers, who, after a brief council, invited him to go to their country, where a large force of braves would escort him to The Dalles. They united with his party, and all crossed the Bitterroot Mountains on the fourteenth of November, passing through three feet of snow, and reached the Cœur d'Alene Mission on the twenty-fifth. Here he heard contradictory and vague rumors of the events happening below, and of the condition of affairs, nothing appearing certain except the fact that the Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Umatillas cherished a hostile spirit, rendering it dangerous for him to attempt to pass through that region without a strong escort. He pushed on to the Spokane country, where he held a council with the three tribes of Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes and Colvilles, Mr. McDonald, Hudson's Bay Company agent at Fort Colville, and the Jesuit Fathers stationed at that point, being present. The Indians were much excited and were wavering between peace and war. "After a stormy council of several days," so says the communication, "the Spokanes, Cœur d'Alenes and Colvilles were entirely conciliated, and promised they would reject all overtures of the hostile Indians, and continue the firm friends of the whites." He augmented his party, and made a forced march to the Clearwater, at Lapwai, where the Nez Perces were assembled. He was there informed that the Walla Walla country was occupied by hostile Indians, and it would be unsafe to attempt a passage through unguarded. While negotiations were in progress for a body guard of one hundred and fifty braves to escort him to The Dalles, news was received that the hostiles had been driven out of the country by the volunteers; and the next day he started with sixty-nine well armed Nez Perces, and reached Walla Walla without encountering any opposition. There he found the Oregon volunteers encamped, also the French settlers before alluded to, the friendly Indians, and B. F. Shaw, Colonel of Washington Territory Militia and Special Indian Agent. The Governor placed him in command, with instructions to fortify and maintain his ground in case the Oregon troops should return home. He then disbanded his Nez Perce auxiliaries, and continued his journey to the seat of government at Olympia. The communication concludes with the following specific charges:—

MR. SECRETARY—Major General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, neglected and refused to send a force to the relief of myself and party, when known to be in imminent danger, and believed by those who were not less capable of judging, to be coming on to certain death, and this when he had at his command an efficient force of regular troops. He refused to sanction the agreement made between Governor Mason and Major Raines for troops to be sent to my assistance, and ordered them to disband. It was reserved for the Oregon troops to rescue us. The only demonstration made by Major Raines resulted in showing his utter incapacity to command in the field. As has heretofore been said, his expedition against the Yakimas effected nothing but driving the Indians into the very country through which I must pass to reach the settlements. I therefore prefer charges against General Wool. I accuse him of utter and signal incapacity, of criminal neglect of my safety. I ask for an investigation into the matter, and for his removal from command.

Until this epistle saw the light, it was the general opinion that Major Raines and Colonel Nesmith had accomplished considerable when they invaded the Yakima country and compelled the hostile bands of Kama-i-akun to evacuate it; but Governor Stevens, viewing it simply in the light of the effect it had upon him personally, and not with regard to the punishment of the Indians or the safety of the people generally, charged Major Raines with "utter incapacity," because he drove "the Indians into the very country through which I must pass." He also accused General Wool of "utter and signal incapacity," because of a "criminal neglect of my safety." It is no wonder that neither the President nor the Secretary of War paid the least attention to such frivolous charges so gravely made. Nor did a memorial voted by the Oregon Legislature on the ninth of February, asking the removal of General Wool, receive any better treatment.

The condition of affairs up to this time had been much complicated by the hostile attitude of Indians living along Puget Sound. When Major Haller started from The Dalles upon his unfortunate invasion of the Yakima country, it will be remembered that Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter undertook to go from Ft. Steilacoom through the Natchess Pass with forty men, and form a junction with him. Haller was defeated and Slaughter fell back to White River, where he was joined by Captain M. Maloney with seventy-five men. On the twenty-fourth of October Captain Gilmore Hays joined him with a company of volunteers from Olympia, and the whole force took up its march for the Natchess Pass, expecting to co-operate with Major Raines and Colonel Nesmith, who were about to invade the Yakima country in force. A few days later, having

been informed by courier that Major Raines would not start for some weeks, his provisions beginning to run low, and the lateness of the season threatening soon to blockade the mountains with snow, he deemed it judicious to return to Ft. Steilacoom, especially as the Sound Indians were evincing a hostile spirit, and the invasion of warlike tribes from British Columbia was feared. These Northern Indians, like the Saxons, Danes and Norsemen of old, were accustomed to make long coasting voyages in their immense war canoes, and invade whatever region they might see fit. Puget Sound Indians and, after its settlement, the whites, were frequent sufferers from these plundering raids. While returning, Maloney and Hays were attacked by Indians on White River, and a severe engagement followed, resulting, as reported, in the death of one regular, the wounding of one volunteer, and the killing of forty Indians. The force continued its retreat to Ft. Steilacoom. The greatest alarm prevailed among the settlers of that region. They hastened to points of safety with their families, and built stockades and block-houses for their protection. Many of the abandoned cabins were destroyed by the Indians.

This was the condition in which Governor Stevens found things when he reached Olympia on the nineteenth of January. Three days later he issued a call for six companies of volunteers to serve on the Sound, and three companies to be recruited along the Columbia for service east of the mountains. He also made arrangements with Captain Gansevoort, of the United States steamer *Active*, to cruise on the Sound below Seattle, on the lookout for Northern Indians; and requested Governor Douglas, of the Hudson's Bay Company, to keep a vessel cruising in the vicinity of Victoria, and warn him of the approach of war canoes. A few days later the Indians attacked Seattle, burned and destroyed everything in King County, except Seattle itself, and the little settlement of Alki. About this time the force under Colonel Wright arrived from San Francisco, and Lieutenant-Colonel Casey was sent to Puget Sound with two hundred men. The organized forces on the Sound were divided into three battalions—"Northern," "Central" and "Southern"—which established separate headquarters, and constructed a chain of block-houses from Yelm Prairie to Bellingham Bay. The central position of the regulars was at Muckleshoot Prairie. The

naval forces were stationed at Seattle, and were commanded at this time by Captain Swartwout. Thus was the Sound guarded while Governor Stevens was making preparations for an invasion of the country east of the mountains. A return to the Oregon volunteers left in winter camp at Walla Walla is now necessary.

The Oregon troops held possession of the Walla Walla country during the winter, occasionally moving, for convenience, to a new camping ground. Though the route to The Dalles was open and comparatively free from danger of attack upon trains of supplies, but limited quantities of those necessities reached the front. The troops depended chiefly upon meat, procured by killing captured stock, and, at times, being reduced to an uninviting fare of horse meat. The officers of the commissary department were too busy running up big bills of expense for the Government to pay, to give much attention to the suffering men in the field. Warmly clad and bountifully fed at The Dalles, how could they be expected to appreciate the necessities of the ragged and half-starved volunteers, bravely enduring the rigors of winter in the enemy's country?

Soon after the battle of Walla Walla, Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly proceeded to the Willamette Valley temporarily, and during his absence an election occurred to fill the vacancies caused by the resignation of Colonel Nesmith and Major Armstrong, in pursuance of instructions from headquarters. This resulted in the choice of Captain Thomas R. Cornelius, Colonel, and Captain N. A. Cornoyer, Major. About the middle of January Governor Curry issued a proclamation calling for five companies—one each from Linn, Marion, Polk, Yamhill, and Clackamas—to take the place of those disbanded, also forty men to recruit Cornoyer's company of scouts from French Prairie. These were in due time recruited, mustered in, and marched to the camp at Walla Walla. The French settlers and friendly Indians were sent to The Dalles, and on the tenth of March Colonel Cornelius marched with his entire command in search of the enemy. In two days they reached Snake River at Fish-hook Bend. On the opposite side was an Indian village, whose inhabitants, thinking the stream could not be crossed, were very insulting and defiant, until the most demonstrative one was laid low with a bullet. At the same time the volunteers launched the boats they had prepared, and the savages fled in terror. They were pursued

by scouting parties, who overtook them as they were about crossing the Columbia near the mouth of the Yakima, and succeeded in killing one of them and capturing some horses. On the fourteenth the entire command moved up Palouse and Snake rivers, and encamped three miles above the falls. Here they remained several days and were reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon horse meat. So poorly was the commissary department administered, that even in their winter camp they had been for weeks at a time without receiving supplies; and now that they were on the move their chances for being fed upon regular rations were much less. A few days of Cayuse diet were all the fresh levies could stand. They had heard of some of the privations, including the equine provender, which the men at the front had endured; but it was as a "tale that is told," and made slight impression upon their minds. Here, however, was the actual reality experienced in their own proper persons, and the impression was on their stomach and more vivid and lasting. They mutinied, and declared an intention to march back to The Dalles at once. They were told of the disgrace of turning back in the face of the enemy, of the hardships of cold and hunger the veterans had endured, and were promised a remodeling of the bill of fare as quickly as possible. They finally consented to give the commissary department one day of grace, and before that time expired provisions arrived and the mutiny was at an end. The command marched to White Bluffs, on the Columbia, without encountering any Indians. On the sixth of April they crossed to the west side of the river at the mouth of the Yakima, and followed the stream down to a point opposite Fort Walla Walla. Here a limited amount of supplies was received, and the homeward march to The Dalles was taken up by way of the Yakima country.

About the sixteenth of April, the force reached the mouth of Satas Creek on the Yakima River, and went into camp. A dividing ridge only shut out from them a view of the valley of the reservation, where they had found plenty of cattle the fall before. Since leaving the Palouse Falls, one-half their subsistence had been upon horse meat and they yearned for the fresh meat of the Yakimas. In the morning Captain Hembree, with five or six men, crossed the creek, and commenced ascending the bluffs to the north.

He was going a short distance to see if any beef cattle could be discovered, and, while passing to the right of a hill, the volunteers in camp discovered some forty loose horses galloping around the opposite side of it towards him. Suddenly, as those horses reached a point between the camp and the Captain, every one of them was found to have an Indian rider; and the next instant, with a savage yell, the Yakimas charged upon the little squad of whites. Captain Hembree fell from his horse, and in a minute was scalped and lifeless. Two of the assailants were shot by him in the brief struggle, and another was killed by one of the soldiers, all of whom broke through the lines and escaped. The Indians carried off their dead, but afterwards acknowledged the loss of two braves in the death struggle with the white chief. Upon the instant that the attack was discovered the alarm was given in camp, and Major Cornoyer, with a few hastily gathered men, dashed across to the rescue. They had hardly started when firing was commenced on the south side of the creek by the Indians, who were making a general move to stampede the soldiers' horses. Captain Hembree was found stretched upon the ground, naked, mutilated, dead. The effort to stampede the horses failed, and the Indians disappeared as suddenly as they had come. That day Major Cornoyer, in command of several companies of the regiment, followed the enemy, and an engagement ensued that resulted in driving the Indians from their fortified stronghold, and the killing of six of them with no loss to the whites. The ensuing day saw the line of march for The Dalles resumed by the entire force, bearing with them the body of the gallant Hembree. Without incident, other than the killing of two Indians who were met in the trail, the volunteers reached Klickitat Valley, and camped to recruit their stock, and received orders for mustering out of service. While occupying this camp, April 28th, a band of some fifty hostiles made a dash upon the grazing stock of the command, and stampeding them, captured three hundred and ninety head of horses, which left the Oregon volunteers dismounted. The regulars at The Dalles came to their assistance, but having no orders to pursue the enemy, Kama-i-akun was left to fall back slowly to the north unmolested.

Thus ended the campaign, and the volunteers who had so gallantly fought in the field and endured uncomplainingly so

many unnecessary privations, were mustered out, with the exception of the company from Clackamas, and found their way homeward without even a word of thanks from the Governor, at whose call they had left their homes and business. They were poorer in purse, poorer in flesh and poorer still in their faith in humanity, but they had gained a vast fund of experience. The people, however, were more generous in their conduct. The citizens of Yamhill gave a grand banquet to the volunteers from that county, at Lafayette, on the fifteenth of May; and the Washington county troops were entertained at Hillsboro on the thirty-first. Governor Curry called for two companies to guard the south side of the Columbia, and on this subject the *Oregonian* remarked:—

None of those in the field were willing to volunteer for the required service, showing too plainly that their previous hardships had taken from them all desire to run any risk by a second campaign. Colonel Cornelius and his command have done all that it was possible to do; they nobly responded to the call; they left home when their services were needed; they endured the exposure and fatigue of a cold, inclement winter; they were left (by somebody) to provision themselves. * * * They are left to thank themselves for the important services rendered the country. No executive official is present to welcome them back, and, in the name of the people, thank them for having so nobly done their duty. They arrive and are mustered out like so many heathen.

The two companies were raised and left Portland on the fourteenth of June for The Dalles, commanded by Captains Wilson and Wilbur.

The mal-administration of affairs in the commissary department was the subject of much controversy at the end of the campaign. Frequent complaints had been made during the winter, but the following somewhat disconnected and incoherent, but easily comprehended, communication, sent to the *Oregonian* from The Dalles on the twenty-first of April and signed "A Horse-fed Volunteer," was the signal for a war of words and printer's ink:—

It has become my painful duty to announce, through your paper, to the citizens of the Willamette, the treatment the volunteers have received, and their appreciation of the same. Six months ago they volunteered in good faith, to fight their country's foe. They expected to meet with ordinary hardships and privations, but they did not expect to starve, to eat *poor* old mares and colts. * * * Our business has been neglected, on account of which we have sustained heavy losses, our property has been sold to pay taxes, and all by the well-wishers of the Willamette; and now, when discharges are called for, the Governor says, "The country must be protected," and that, too, by us. If we had been treated as we should have been, we would willingly remain in the field till the close of the war. But since the congregated wisdom of Oregon Territory convened at Salem, decreed that a

Cayuse horse was worth as much as a volunteer and should receive the same pay; notwithstanding, the pack masters, last winter, would load them down to the guards, one-half with oats and the other half with whisky, neither of which ever reached the half-clad, half-starved volunteers, and the quartermaster politely promises to pay to a transcendently patriotic Jew \$24.00 per dozen for hickory shirts, which cost that noble man from \$3.50 to \$4.00; the volunteers to pay \$2.00 for each shirt. Now there are boys here who have the blood of '76 coursing through their veins with railroad velocity, who say the country must and shall be protected, but they can not, and will not, endure such treatment; that they will come home and take the desperate chances with the citizens, at least till they can settle their accounts and outfit themselves for a new campaign, not being willing to trust to the Departments for the same.

The discussion was very warm and was conducted on a political basis. Early in the campaign, the previous November, the acute sense of propriety possessed by Mr. Bush, editor of the *Statesman*, and other leaders of the Democracy, was shocked by the knowledge that a few Whigs and Know-nothings held positions in the army. There was a loud outcry at this infringement of the undisputed right of the party in possession of the government to hold all the offices and enjoy all the emoluments and perquisites. Spirited communications appeared in the *Statesman*, in which the motto, "To the victors belong the spoils," was frequently quoted as having the authority of law and the gospel. A. M. Belt, Surgeon General, was specially singled out for attack, and the Governor was informed that competent surgeons were to be found in the Democratic ranks. Finally, a petition was circulated through the Valley, which received so many signatures that the Governor did not dare to longer remain unmindful of the wishes of his political supporters. A clean sweep was made in every office occupied by a Whig where the executive possessed the appointing power, from the obnoxious Surgeon to the officers and clerks in the commissary department, contractors, and mule drivers, and a good Democrat given the position. This done, they deeply lamented the fact that many of the commissioned officers in the field were Whigs, but, being elected to their positions, could not be removed except for cause. Too much attention was paid to politics and securing the spoils, to provide for the wants of the men in the field. When the controversy arose the officers at The Dalles reported to the Governor that there had always been an ample supply of provisions on hand, but that they could get no escorts for their safe transportation to the front. This Colonel Cornelius denied, and demanded a court of

inquiry, which Governor Curry declined to order, taking care in his letter of refusal to state that the failure of supplies could not be attributed to any fault or carelessness of Colonel Cornelius, and to highly compliment him for his conduct during the campaign. Thus the officer was mollified and the dangerous breakers of an investigation were avoided. Governor Curry then sailed for the East to look after an appropriation by Congress to defray the expenses of his war. The subject had already come up, and General Wool's report, the character of which can be surmised from his previous conduct and expressed opinions, had caused the National Legislature to refuse to appropriate anything whatever.

CHAPTER XXV.

CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR ON ROGUE RIVER.

Reorganization of the Volunteers—Appointment of General Lamerick—Removal of the Table Rock Band to the Coast Reservation—The Flag of Truce Incident—Battle of Eight-Dollar Mountain—Campaign to Big Meadows—Battle at the Bar—Fort Lamerick Built in Big Meadows—Massacre at Gold Beach—The Regulars Assume the Offensive—They Chastise the Indians at Different Places—Council of Oak Flat—Battle between Chief John and Captain Smith—The Volunteers defeat Limpy and George—All the Hostiles Surrender and are Taken to the Coast Reservation.

DURING the winter of 1855-6 there was no fighting in Southern Oregon. The volunteers lay all winter stationed at all the strategical points for the protection of the settlements from raids by the Indians, who remained secluded in the mountains. The absurdity of having two battalions with independent commanders was soon recognized, and on the seventh of December they were united and regimental officers elected. Robert L. Williams was chosen Colonel, W. J. Martin, Lieutenant-Colonel, and James Bruce, Major. The regiment, which was designated the "Second Regiment of Oregon Mounted Volunteers," consisted of the companies of Captains Bailey, Buoy, Keeney, Rice, O'Neal, Wilkinson, Alcorn, Gordon, Chapman, and Bledsoe, aggregating on paper nine hundred and one rank and file, the effective force being much less. In February Major Bruce and Captains O'Neal, Rice, Alcorn and Wilkinson preferred charges against Colonel Williams, alleging intentional inactivity, etc. They were based upon the connection Colonel Williams was supposed to have with a clique of speculators, whose pecuniary interests lay in the direction of an indefinite prolongation of the war. The same speculative and political complications ex-

isted here as we have seen were so productive of harm in the operations along the Columbia, and it is unnecessary to refer to them in detail. It is enough to say that the war was declared a "God-send" by those who were of the ruling political faith and had any hold upon the Government; and the consequence was, that more than one man of influence would have been sorry to see it terminated too quickly. The outcome of the charges was the appointment of J. K. Lamerick as Brigadier-General to take supreme command of the forces, Colonel Williams being thus relieved of the responsibility, though retaining his command. In February two-thirds of the men received their discharge, and new companies were enlisted, commanded by O'Neal, Sheffield, George, Bushey, M. M. Williams, Wallan, Robertson, and Barnes. The companies were composed chiefly of discharged men, who re-enlisted almost unanimously. On the eighteenth of March regimental officers were elected, John Kelsey becoming Colonel, W. W. Chapman, Lieutenant-Colonel, and James Bruce and W. L. Latshaw, Majors of the two battalions.

Subsequent to the events just detailed, a transaction of considerable importance took place. This was the removal of Chief Sam's band to the reservation west of the Willamette Valley. The Table Rock band took no part in the massacre of the ninth of October. On the contrary, the members of that band crossed the river to Fort Lane, and besought the protection of Captain Smith from the violence of the white settlers, which, but for such protection, would surely have befallen them. During the succeeding months they remained under the immediate care of Captain Smith and Agent Ambrose, and gave not the remotest cause for suspicion on the part of the whites. Finally, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs decided to remove all the natives from Southern Oregon, the Table Rock band was sent to the permanent reservation about Yaquina Bay. Such was the state of public sentiment that a guard of one hundred soldiers was deemed necessary in order to protect them on their progress northward. And this, notwithstanding the fact that by their friendship for the whites, they had incurred the enmity of all the hostile Indians on Rogue River. The people of the Willamette Valley, jealous of the removal of warriors into their neighborhood, and scarce understanding the

situation of affairs, held public meetings to consider the question of raising an armed force to resist their coming; but the excitement soon calmed, and the Indians found a final home by the shores of the Pacific. A few days later—about the middle of February, Chiefs Limpy and George, with thirty mounted warriors, went to Fort Lane with a flag of truce, desiring to have a talk and secure possession of some squaws. As soon as their presence was known, there was great excitement, and the volunteers prepared to attack them. They were, however, notified by Captain Smith that he recognized the flag of truce and would guard its sanctity; and the result was the warriors were permitted to depart in safety. The indignation of the people was intense, and the regular army, from General Wool and Captain Smith down to the sutler, was anathematized. The *Sentinel* discharged fiery editorials, similar to those the *Oregonian* was about the same time directing at General Wool, and with no better result. All this abuse of the regular army because its commanders insisted upon discharging their full duty and not being governed in their conduct by passion, prejudice or speculation, served only to delay and reduce the amount of Government appropriations for the expenses of the war, and proved very costly indeed for the contractor.

Hostilities began in earnest towards the end of March. On the morning of the twenty-fourth word was received at the headquarters of General Lamerick, at Vannoy's Ferry, that two men had been killed while in camp at the base of Eight-Dollar Mountain, and another man mortally wounded in the same vicinity. Captain Hugh O'Neal hastened with his company to Fort Hays, where was but a small garrison, and arrived just in time to be driven into the fort with the loss of one man. The Indians besieged the fort till morning, and then retired southward, capturing a pack train, and killing one man and wounding another. Here they were overtaken by Major Bruce at the head of several companies. The foremost of these engaged the enemy while yet the remainder were dismounting. All horses were left at the foot of the hill which it was necessary to ascend to find the enemy; and a long line of battle, reaching several hundred yards along the side of the mountain, was formed, and the troops advanced up the rise. The battle was a lively one; the rattle of rifles and revolvers was almost con-

tinuous, and frequent attempts were made by each party to charge the other. All sought cover, and there was little chance for life for the man who neglected thus to protect himself. At this interesting juncture a shout was raised that the Indians were making off with the horses, left at the foot of the hill. A number of the savages, spying the condition of affairs ran hastily to the spot and mounting some and leading others, escaped with some fifteen of the animals belonging to Abel George's Yreka company. The most of the fighting for a time was done by M. M. Williams and about a score of his bravest men, who stood their ground valiantly, and only retreated when the Indians had nearly or quite surrounded them. Alcorn's men and others fought well, also, but a great many either ran away during the fight, or else could not be brought into it at all. Over two hundred men were within sound of the firing, but not one-half that number took any part in the fight, and probably not over fifty engaged in it with energy and resolution. A hundred or more Indians held with determination the hill and the thick woods, and successfully barred the way. Against this force the volunteers effected nothing. They soon began to retire, and gaining the base of the hill, mounted and returned to Fort Hays, hardly yet sensible of a defeat. The Indians withdrew in their characteristic manner, and the battle of Eight-Dollar Mountain was ended.

Early in April, General Lamerick determined upon a campaign to Big Meadows, the rendezvous of the hostiles. The Southern Battalion, under Lieutenant Colonel Chapman and Major Bruce, started on the fourteenth of April and marched down the south side of Rogue River, halting at Peavine Mountain. On the seventeenth, Colonel Kelsey and Major Latshaw marched from Fort Leland, on Grave Creek, with the Northern Battalion, and proceeded to the Little Meadows of Rogue River, some twelve miles from the camp of the other battalion. Chapman and Bruce then joined him, raising the force to five hundred and thirty-five men. They camped two miles north of the river, on a high terrace, a breastwork of pine logs enclosing the encampment. Scouts located the Indian camp on a large bar on the south side of the river and three miles further down. Several days were spent in reconnoitering, and then it was decided to make an attack. General Lame-

rick ordered Major Bruce to cross the river and cut off the retreat of the Indians, while Colonel Kelsey was to move on the north side until directly opposite the camp, and then attack it from across the stream. Both detachments started out to execute these orders, but when the river was reached Bruce's men refused to cross in the two canvas boats brought for that purpose. This is a fair example of the difficulties the officers had to contend with. Every volunteer thought himself as good as his superior officers, and refused to obey all orders he did not deem judicious. Under such circumstances it is no wonder so large a force accomplished so little.

Major Bruce being thus compelled to remain on the north side of the river, concluded to move down stream and join Colonel Kelsey at the bar. Meanwhile, this commander had reached a point on the declivity nearly opposite his objective point, and started directly down hill, following a ridge which afforded comparatively little obstruction to his advance. The detachment was formed in line of battle, and rushed down and took position on the bank of the river facing the Indian encampment on the bar, and opened a brisk fire upon the enemy. The savages were thrown into confusion by the sudden attack, and did not return the fire for some time. The women and children, the former carrying heavy packs, soon left the camp and passed up the hill toward the Illinois River, while a greater part of the males sought shelter in the edge of the fir woods behind their encampment, and watched the movements of the whites. Major Bruce arrived with his command, and taking a position on the left, began firing at the enemy, who, however, were in positions of comparative safety. Desultory and ineffectual firing was kept up all day, but no means of crossing the river being at hand, nothing could be done to complete the victory. It is supposed that quite a number of Indians were killed, while the only loss to the whites was the mortal wounding of Elias Mercer, and the severe wounding of John Henry Clift. In the evening the whole force went into camp at the Big Meadows, six miles below the former camp. On the following morning Colonel Kelsey and Major Latshaw with one hundred and fifty men went to a point on the river two miles below the bar, with the expectation of crossing to the south side. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Chapman with one hundred men marched to the battle-ground of the pre-

vious day to engage the enemy if still there. The former found Indians scattered along the shore, who showed fight, consequently the detachment did not cross. Lieutenant-Colonel Chapman found no Indians at the bar, and returned. Major Bruce had gone in another direction with one hundred men, and he also returned without having accomplished anything. On the twenty-ninth the regiment encamped on the bar from which the Indians had been driven. Scouts soon ascertained that the Indians had abandoned that region, and it being impracticable to follow them, the regiment broke camp on the first of May, five companies taking permanent station in Big Meadows, which was called "Fort Lamerick," and the others returning to Fort Leland. The chief accomplishment of this campaign was to add greatly to the bill for supplies which the contractors were running up against the day of settlement.

In the Spring of 1856 a new complication was introduced into the troubles in Southern Oregon. The Indians of the coast had remained peaceful, though those living at and below the mouth of Rogue River were urgently solicited to join the hostiles. Their relations with the settlers and miners had been none too pleasant for a year past, and several incidents had occurred to intensify the natural feeling of race antagonism. Ben Wright, of Modoc fame, was the agent in charge of the Indians in that region, having his residence at Gold Beach at the mouth of Rogue River. At Port Orford, thirty miles north, was a military post known as "Fort Orford," and garrisoned by Captain Reynolds' company of the 3d Artillery. During the winter, and at the instance of Agent Wright, a volunteer company of thirty-three men, under Captain John Poland, occupied a strongly fortified post at Big Bend, some fifteen miles up the river, where they served to separate the hostiles from the Indians below. About the first of February they abandoned this post and returned to Gold Beach. Wright, observing the growing discontent of the natives, put forth every effort to induce them to go to the temporary reservation at Port Orford, where they would be safe from the attack of ill-disposed whites and the solicitations of hostile Indians. It has always been supposed that it was owing to the intriguing of one man that this effect was not brought about. This man was an Indian of some eastern tribe—Canadian, it was said—and had been with Fremont on his last expedition ten years

before. Enos, called by the Indians "Aenes," had become a confidant of Wright's to the extent of knowing his plans for the peaceful subjugation of the Indians. Enos laid with the braves a far-reaching plan to destroy utterly the small colony of whites; and this done, to join the bands of savages who were waging war, and to defeat and drive from the country the invaders who so harrowed the Indian soul.

The first step in Enos' portentous plan was to slaughter Wright and the settlers along the coast. On the evening of February 22, having completed his arrangements, Enos, with a sufficient force of his Indians, fell upon the scattered settlement at the south side of the mouth of the river, and finding Agent Wright alone in his cabin, entered it seen, but unsuspected, by him, and with an axe or club slaughtered this hero of a hundred bloody fights. So died, perhaps, the greatest of Indian fighters whom this Coast ever knew. Concluding this villainy, the Indians sought new victims, and during the night killed mercilessly, with shot or blows, twenty-four or twenty-five persons, of whom the list is here presented as given by various authorities: Captain Ben Wright, Captain John Poland, John Geisel and three children, Joseph Seroc and two children, J. H. Braun, E. W. Howe, Barney Castle, George McClusky, Patrick McCollough, Samuel Hendrick, W. R. Tullus, Joseph Wagoner, — Seaman, Lorenzo Warner, George Reed, John Idles, Martin Reed, Henry Lawrence, Guy C. Holcomb, and Joseph Wilkinson. Mrs. Geisel and her remaining children, Mary and Annie, were taken prisoners. After suffering the worst of hardships at the hands of the Indians, they were delivered from them at a later date, and now live to recount with tears the story of their bereavement and captivity. A large portion of the inhabitants had gathered on that fateful night at Big Flat to attend a dance given there, and so failed of death; and on the morrow these set out for the village, and on arriving there found the fearful remains of the butchery. The corpses were buried; and the remaining population, numbering, perhaps, one hundred and thirty men, scantily supplied with firearms and provisions, sought protection in a fort which had been constructed in anticipation of such need. Here the survivors gathered and for a time sustained a state of siege with the added horrors of a possible death by starvation. Their only communication from

without was by means of two small coasting schooners which made occasional trips to Port Orford or Crescent City. The Indians surrounded them and commanded every approach by land. Meantime, the savages were not idle. Every dwelling and every piece of property of whatever description that fire could touch was destroyed. The country was devastated, and, beside the fort besieged, only the station of Port Orford remained inhabited. The buildings at Gold Beach were all burned, and an estimate of the property destroyed along the coast fixes the damage at \$125,000. Subsequent to the first attack a number of other persons were killed by the Indians, these being Henry Bullen, L. W. Oliver, Daniel Richardson, Adolf Schmoldt, Oliver Cantwell, Stephen Taylor, and George Trickey. By an unhappy chance H. I. Gerow, merchant; John O'Brien, miner; Sylvester Long, farmer; William Thompson and Richard Gay, boatmen, and Felix McCue, were drowned in the breakers opposite the fort while bringing aid and provisions from Port Orford. Captain Davis and Henry Defremany succeeded in swimming ashore and reaching the fort.

Messengers from the beleaguered settlers succeeded in reaching Port Orford and Crescent City. At the former place, Captain Reynolds, who only had twenty-six men, did not dare go to their aid and leave the place unprotected. The unfortunate party mentioned above at once started with provisions to their relief. At Crescent City was Captain Jones with a company of regulars, who, as he was under marching orders from General Wool for a concerted movement of all the troops against the hostiles, was not at liberty to go to the relief of the settlers at Gold Beach. The volunteers in Rogue River Valley, when appealed to, also declined to go, alleging a fear of leaving the settlements exposed. A company of volunteers was formed at Crescent City, commanded by Captain G. H. Abbott. On the eighth of March Lieutenant-Colonel Buchanan arrived at Crescent City from San Francisco with a company of regulars under Captain E. O. C. Ord, afterwards Major-General, and with Jones' regulars and Abbott's volunteers, marched northward. Abbott was some distance in advance, and encountered the Chetco and Pistol River Indians, losing one man and having several wounded. When the regulars arrived, and rescued them, they were surrounded by Indians and sheltered be-

hind logs on the beach. The whole force remained in the vicinity a few days, until they had severely chastised the savages and destroyed their village.

On the twentieth of March Lieutenant-Colonel Buchanan arrived at the mouth of Rogue River, having left Captain Abbott at Pistol River to keep open communications with Crescent City, the base of supplies. Operations began by an assault upon the Mekanootenai rancheria, about ten miles up-stream and four or six below Big Bend. Captains Ord and Jones took the town, killing several Indians and driving the rest to their canoes. One man, Sergeant Nash, was severely wounded. A few days later Captain (now General) Augur, with a small detachment, reached the mouth of Illinois River and found some ten or twelve Indians belonging to John or Limpy's band, and fought them. The Indians strove desperately and five of them fell dead before the conflict was decided. Captain Augur, after the fight, found it necessary to return toward Gold Beach. Captain Smith set out from Fort Lane about this time with eighty men—fifty dragoons and thirty infantrymen. All went on foot, and marched down Rogue River, up Slate Creek to Hays' farm, from thence to Deer Creek and thence down Illinois River to the Rogue, and encamped a few miles further down that stream, having come to their destination.

Negotiations had been in progress for a few days, thanks to the exertions of Superintendent Palmer, and it was hoped that an agreement would be reached with the Coast Indians, who were now much scattered. Enos, with quite a number of his followers, had joined the up-river bands, who were lying on the river above the Big Bend. Others had gone to Port Orford and placed themselves under the protection of the military. On the twenty-seventh of March a party of regulars were fired upon from the brush while proceeding down the banks of the Rogue, whereupon they charged their assailants and killed eight or ten, with a loss to themselves of two wounded. On April 1st, Captain Creighton, with a company of citizens, attacked an Indian village near the mouth of the Coquille River, killing nine men, wounding eleven and taking forty squaws and children prisoners. These Indians had been under the care of the Government authorities at Port Orford until a few days before the fight, and had left that place because some meddlesome

whites had represented to them that it was the soldiers' intention to kill them. A party of volunteers intercepted several canoe loads of Indians near the mouth of Rogue River and killed eleven males and one squaw; one male and two squaws only escaped. On the twenty-ninth of April a party of sixty regulars, conveying a pack-train, were attacked near Chetco by the remnant of the band of savages of that name, supposed to number about sixty, but probably less, and two or three soldiers were killed or wounded. The battle ended by the defeat of the natives, who lost six braves killed, and several wounded. In the month of April three volunteer companies operated on the coast, and did much service in spite of their being badly armed and equipped. These were the Gold Beach Guards, the Coquille Guards and the Port Orford Minute Men.

Besides the regulars who were now hemming in the savages and cutting them off from all avenues of escape from the mountain fastnesses in which they had been so secure, the volunteers played an important part. Fort Lamerick had been built at Big Meadows by Major Bruce, who occupied it with a force of two hundred men, and was later reinforced by the entire body of volunteers, General Lamerick being present and in command. Hemmed in on all sides, without resources and with no hope of assistance, the hostiles began to feel their inability to cope with the forces now operating against them.

On the twenty-first and twenty-second of May, Superintendent Palmer and Colonel Buchanan held a conference with the Indians. This is officially known as the "Council of Oak Flat," the locality being on the right bank of the Illinois River, some three miles above its mouth. Nearly all the regular troops were present, amounting to about two hundred. Almost all the hostiles were present, and most of them agreed to surrender on a certain day. Not so, however, with Chief John. This undaunted chieftain said to Colonel Buchanan: "You are a great chief; so am I a great chief; this is my country; I was in it when these trees were very little, not higher than my head. My heart is sick fighting the whites, but I want to live in my country. I will not go out of my country. I will, if the whites are willing, go back to the Deer Creek country and live as I used to do among the whites; they can

visit my camp and I will visit theirs; but I will not lay down my arms and go to the reserve. I will fight. Good bye."

The result of the negotiations was the agreement of a great many Indians, notably the Coast bands, to give up their arms. On or before the twenty-sixth of May they were to assemble at the Big Meadows, several miles from the Big Meadows occupied by the volunteers, and be escorted thence to Port Orford. Ord's company had been sent to Port Orford to escort a provision train to the command at Oak Flat. Reynolds' company was sent out to meet the same train, as its safety was very important. On the twenty-fourth Captain Smith left Oak Flat with his eighty dragoons and infantrymen to proceed to Big Meadows and perform escort duty when the Indians surrendered. He encamped on the north side of the river, near the place fixed upon for the surrender. On the twenty-fifth the chief in command moved down the Illinois, and leaving Jones' company at its mouth, went across the Rogue with Augur's company, and set about opening a trail for the passage of the surrendered Indians with their guard, who were expected the next day. On the evening of May twenty-sixth Colonel Buchanan was on the north side of the river, some few miles from the mouth of the Illinois; Captain Ord was about ten miles west of Oak Flat, with the train; Jones was at the mouth of the Illinois; Reynolds about ten miles below that point, on the Port Orford trail; Smith at Big Meadows; and the main body of the Indians were on the bank of the Rogue, about five miles above Smith. The twenty-sixth passed and no Indians came in, but Smith was informed that they were delayed by slippery roads, and would be in sometime the next day. During the evening of the same day, George, a well-known chief, caused it to become known to Captain Smith that an attack was meditated on his camp. He instantly set about moving his command to a much more secure position between two small creeks entering the main stream from the northwest. He occupied an oblong elevation some two hundred and fifty yards in length, and about twenty in width. Between this mound and the river is a narrow bottom called "Big Meadows," but which was not the same locality designated by the volunteers as "Big Meadows," and whereon stood Fort Lamerick. The latter locality is several miles further up the river, and further removed from the stream. The top of the elevation on which Captain

Smith was now encamped formed a plateau of size sufficient for one company to encamp upon, and was of slight elevation. Directly to the north is another elevation of equal height and within rifle range of the first. Early in the morning of the twenty-seventh the savages came in from all directions and soon the north mound was covered with them. A body of forty warriors attempted to enter camp, but were halted on the spot and told to lay down their arms at a certain place. There being a howitzer planted so as to rake that approach, the Indians felt it best to retire. At ten o'clock in the forenoon the Indians made a sudden rush from both sides ; but they were repulsed by the howitzer and infantry. John developed all the tactics and strategy of a consummate general in his management of the battle. His method of attack was by means of small-arm fire at long range, charges by the larger bodies of braves, and unexpected attacks by smaller numbers, who sought to gain the mound by scaling the steeper portions where the guard was weak. Only thirty of Smith's men had arms adapted to long range shooting, the musketoon of the dragoons being useless except at close quarters. John's men, on the contrary, possessed excellent pieces and shot effectively from long distances. At night the Indians drew off and encamped. Smith occupied his men in constructing rifle pits and building with his camp equipage temporary defences, and in procuring water from the river for his thirsty troops. On the following morning the Indians again opened fire and continued the battle. Old John put forth all his efforts to seize victory, as there was every chance that reinforcements for Smith would soon arrive ; but in spite of his generalship and personal bravery the assaults were successfully repulsed. About four o'clock in the afternoon the Indians formed in two bodies with the intention of attacking both flanks simultaneously. Just at the critical moment of their attack, Captain Augur's company was seen advancing. In conjunction with these Smith charged and dispersed the enemy, John and all the rest escaping into the woods. Smith's loss was twenty-nine in killed and wounded, the most of whom were hit by bullets from the north mound. The loss of the Indians is unknown. To prevent any like attempts for the future, Buchanan concentrated his forces at the Big Meadows on the thirtieth of May, and remained there until the greater part of the Indians had surrendered.

While Captain Smith was thus contending with John, the volunteers, some miles up the river, were fighting Limpy and George. Major Latshaw left Fort Lamerick on the twenty-seventh with two hundred and thirteen men, and marched twelve miles down the river, and the next day skirmished with the Indians of some rancherias still lower down, killing some and taking fifteen prisoners. On the twenty-ninth, the day following John's defeat by Captain Smith, more skirmishing was done, and H. C. Houston, Sergeant in Keith's company, was badly wounded. On the following day fighting took place on the south side of the river between a party of volunteers and some Indians, and Private Cooly, of Wallan's company, was wounded in the thigh and hand. On the thirty-first Major Latshaw, with one hundred and fifty men, moved to Buchanan's headquarters, at Big Meadows. They found here that Limpy and George had surrendered, with their hands, on May twenty-ninth, the day following their fight with the volunteers. On the fifth of June General Lamerick moved down the river and encamped at Big Bend, where the regulars were lying. The next day a combined movement was made down the river by three companies of regulars and Captain Bledsoe's company of volunteers, and an Indian encampment was destroyed, some twenty or more natives being killed or drowned in endeavoring to escape. Two volunteers were wounded. The main body of the Indians were encamped on the river about fifteen miles below Big Bend, but their cabins were found deserted when the attacking party arrived. The remaining acts of the citizen soldiery can be briefly told. Major Bruce headed an expedition down the coast to the country of the Chetco and Pistol River bands, and killed three males and took fifty prisoners. On June twenty-second Major Latshaw, with Keith, Noland and Blakely's companies, marched from the mouth of the river *via* Fort Lamerick to Camas Prairie and Deer Creek, and the troops going to Eugene City were there disbanded. General Lamerick, with Barnes' company, proceeded to Port Orford with orders for this organization to be mustered out on July first. Captain Bledsoe, with his men, remained in service for a short time subsequently.

On the twentieth of June Chief John sent five of his braves to Buchanan's head-quarters to announce that their leader would sur-

render on the same terms as had Limpy, George and other chiefs, but he wished the whites to guarantee safety to Enos, who was an object of particular aversion to the volunteers. Previously, the chief had refused all overtures of peace, saying that war suited him, and that in spite of the desertion of all the other Indians he would remain in his beloved country and fight. By the first of July all the known hostiles had surrendered save a few about Pistol River, and John's own band. Sated with unequal combats, John surrendered to the regular army, an escort of one hundred and ten soldiers being sent out to accompany him and his little band of thirty-five to Port Orford.

The objects of the war were now accomplished. The last band of hostile Indians had surrendered. On the temporary reservation at Port Orford were gathered about one thousand three hundred Indians of various tribes, and including all the surviving members of the bands which had begun and carried on the war. The Coast Reservation was fixed upon as their future abode—a tract seventy miles long, lying upon the coast of Oregon and extending from Cape Perpetua to Cape Lookout, and from the Pacific Ocean to the western water-shed of the Willamette. By the first of September, 1856, two thousand and seven hundred Indians had been removed there. Enos, too, was there for a time, but his restless habits got him into difficulties, and he made illicit expeditions to various parts of the State, and being detected therein was denounced by certain nervous people as a fire-brand who was seeking to again spread the flames of war. There is a tradition in Curry county that Enos was hanged upon Battle Rock at Port Orford; but the Indian then executed was one of four Coquille Indians hanged for the murder of Venable and Burton. The fate of Enos is unknown.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ATTACK ON THE CASCADES.

Colonel Wright Assumes Command of the Regulars—His Instructions from General Wool—He Starts for the Walla Walla Country with a Strong Force—Fears of an Attack on the Cascades—The Attack is Made on the Twenty-Sixth of March, 1856—Details of the Affair—Colonel Wright Comes to the Rescue from The Dalles, and Lieutenant Sheridan from Vancouver—Indians Captured and Hanged—List of Killed and Wounded—Intelligence of the Attack Creates Great Excitement in Portland and up the Valley—Two Volunteer Companies go to the Rescue—Panic Rumors Distract the People—All Quiet on the Sandy.

WHILE the command of Colonel Cornelius was hunting for Indians along the Snake and Columbia rivers, the people living in fancied security in the valley experienced the dread alarms of war. When the 9th Infantry arrived the entire force of regulars was placed under the command of Colonel George Wright. He received general instructions from his superior, who remained in San Francisco, to occupy winter quarters until a successful movement could be made in the spring, and then to establish a military station in the Walla Walla country, not for the purpose of making war upon the Indians, unless compelled so to do by their own conduct, but for the protection of the Indians in their rights from unlawful intrusion or conduct of white men, and to insure the safety of all such as might lawfully reside in the Indian country. This action was taken in view of the fact that the treaties had not yet been ratified by the Senate and were not in force, and consequently the rights of the Indians were more liable to be infringed than those of the whites. He was to establish and maintain peace. In pursuance of this policy he moved a strong force to The Dalles, and set

out for the Walla Walla country on the twenty-sixth of March. At that time the Oregon volunteers were campaigning about the mouth of Snake River, and all was quiet below them.

Previous to this the possibility of an attack upon the Cascades Settlement by the Klickitats, had been anticipated. On the fifth of March the steamer *Wasco* was fired upon by Indians while opposite the mouth of Hood River. The day before they had burned the residence of E. S. Joslyn, on the Washington side, and the *Wasco* had on board Lieutenant Davidson and forty men on their way to the scene of the trouble, when she was fired upon. She returned to the south side of the stream. Soon the *Mary* came down the river with Major Haller and fifty men, and a landing was made, but no Indians could be found. From this and other indications the people living at the Cascades feared they might be attacked, and made preparations to take refuge in time of danger in the block-house which had been erected. There was at that time a railroad under construction from the Lower to the Upper Cascades, on the Washington side, to be used as a freight and passenger portage between the Lower and Upper Columbia, and quite a force of workmen was employed. The block-house was at the Middle Cascades, while the majority of the workmen were at the upper landing, a store on the river bank serving as headquarters at the latter point. The following very accurate account of the attack was written by L. W. Coe a few days afterwards, addressed to Putnam Bradford, who, with his brother, Daniel F., was constructing the railroad, which was simply a wooden tramway:—

On Wednesday, March 26, at about 8:30 A. M., after the men had gone to their work on the two bridges of the new railway, mostly on the bridge near Bush's house, the Yakimas came down on us. There was a line of them from Mill Creek above us to the big point at the head of the falls, firing simultaneously on the men; and the first notice we had of them was the bullets and the crack of their guns. Of our men, at the first fire, one was killed and several wounded. I will give you a list hereinafter. Our men on seeing the Indians, all ran for our store through a shower of bullets, except three who started down stream for the middle block-house, distant one and a half miles. Bush and his family also ran into our store, leaving his own house vacant. The Watkins family came to the store after a Dutch boy, who was lame from a cut in the foot,—had been shot in their house. Watkins, Finlay and Baily were at work on the new warehouse on the island, around which the water was now high enough to run about three feet deep under the bridges. There was grand confusion in the store at first; and Sinclair, of Walla Walla, going to the railroad door to look out, was shot from the bank above the store and instantly killed. Some of us then commenced getting the guns and rifles, which



BLOCK HOUSE AT THE CASCADES.—SEE PAGES 448, 452.

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were ready loaded, from behind the counter. Fortunately, about an hour before, there had been left with us for transportation below, nine United States government rifles with cartridge boxes and ammunition. These saved us. As the upper story of the house was abandoned, Smith, the cook, having come below, and as the stairway was outside where we dare not go, the stovepipe was hauled down, the hole enlarged with axes, and a party of men crawled up, and the upper part of the house was soon secured. We were surprised that the Indians had not rushed into the upper story, as there was nothing or nobody to prevent them.

Our men soon got some shots at the Indians on the bank above us. I saw Bush shoot an Indian, the first one killed, who was drawing a bead on Mrs. Watkins as she was running for our store. He dropped instantly. Alexander and others mounted into the gable under the roof, and from there was done most of our firing, it being the best place of observation. In the meantime, we were barricading in the store, making port-holes and firing when opportunity presented. But the Indians were soon very cautious about exposing themselves. I took charge of the store, Dan Bradford of the second floor, and Alexander of the garret and roof.

The steamer *Mary* was lying in the mouth of Mill Creek, and the wind was blowing hard down stream. When we saw Indians running toward her and heard the shots, we supposed she would be taken; and as she lay just out of our sight, and we saw smoke rising from her, concluded she was burning, but what was our glad surprise after a while to see her put out and run across the river. I will give an account of the attack on her hereinafter.

The Indians now returned in force to us, and we gave every one a shot who showed himself. They were nearly naked, painted red, and had guns and bows and arrows. After a while Finlay came creeping around the lower point of the island toward our house. We halloed to him to lie down behind a rock, and he did so. He called that he could not get to the store as the bank above us was covered with Indians. He saw Watkin's house burn while there. The Indians first took out all they wanted—blankets, clothes, guns, etc. By this time the Indians had crossed in canoes to the island, and we saw them coming, as we supposed, after Finlay. We then saw Watkins and Bailey running around the river side towards the place where Finlay was, and the Indians in full chase after them. As our own men came around the point in full view, Bailey was shot through the arm and leg. He continued on, and, plunging into the river, swam to the front of our store and came in safely, except for his wounds. He narrowly escaped going over the falls. Finlay also swam across and got in unharmed, which was wonderful, as there was a shower of bullets around them.

Watkins next came running around the point, and we called to him to lie down behind a rock, but before he could do so he was shot in the wrist, the ball going up the arm and out above the elbow. He dropped behind a rock just as the pursuing Indians came following around the point, but we gave them so hot a reception from our house that they backed out and left poor Watkins where he lay. We called to Watkins to lie still and we would get him off; but we were not able to do so until after the arrival from The Dalles of the steamer *Mary* with troops—two days and nights afterwards. During this time Watkins fainted several times from weakness and exposure, the weather being very cold, and he was stripped down to his underclothes for swimming. When he fainted he would roll down the steep bank into the river, and the ice-cold water reviving him, he would crawl back under fire to his retreat behind the rock. Meantime, his wife and children were in the store, in full view, and moaning piteously at his terrible situation. He died from exhaustion two days after he was rescued.

The Indians were now pitching into us "right smart." They tried to burn us out; threw rocks and firebrands, hot irons, pitch wood—everything on to the roof

that would burn. But you will recollect that for a short distance back the bank inclined toward the house, and we could see and shoot the Indians who appeared there. So they had to throw from such a distance that the largest rocks and bundles of fire did not quite reach us; and what did, generally rolled off the roof. Sometimes the roof got on fire, and we cut it out, or with cups of brine drawn from pork barrels, put it out, or with long sticks shoved off the fire balls. The kitchen roof troubled us the most. How they did pepper us with rocks; some of the big ones would shake the house all over.

There were now forty men, women and children in the house—four *women* and eighteen men that could fight and eighteen wounded men and children. The steamer *Wasco* was on the Oregon side of the river. We saw her steam up and leave for The Dalles. Shortly after, the steamer *Mary* also left. She had to take Atwell's fence rails for wood. So passed the day, during which the Indians had burned Inman's two houses, your saw-mill and houses, and the lumber yards at the mouth of Mill Creek. At daylight they set fire to your new warehouse on the island, making it as light as day around us. I suppose they reserved this building for night that we might not get Watkins off. They did not attack us at night, but the second morning commenced as lively as ever. We had no water, but did have about two dozen ale and a few bottles of whisky. These gave out during the day. During the night, a Spokane Indian who was traveling with Sinclair, and was in the store with us, volunteered to get a pail of water from the river. I consented, and he stripped himself naked, jumped out and down the bank, and was back in no time. By this time we looked for the steamer from The Dalles, and were greatly disappointed at her non-arrival. We weathered it out during the day, every man keeping his post, and never relaxing in vigilance. Every moving object, shadow, or suspicious bush on the hill received a shot. The Indians must have thought the house a bombshell. To our ceaseless vigilance I ascribe our safety. Night came again; we saw Sheppard's house burn; Bush's house near by was also fired, and kept us in light until about four A. M., when darkness returning, I sent the Spokane Indian for water from the river, and he filled two barrels. He went to and fro like lightning. We also slipped poor James Sinclair's body down the slide outside, as the corpse was quite offensive.

The two steamers now having exceeded the length of time we gave them in which to return from The Dalles, we made up our minds for a long siege and until relief came from below. We could not account for it, but supposed the ninth regiment had left The Dalles for Walla Walla, and had proceeded too far to return. The third morning dawned, and lo! the *Mary* and the *Wasco*, blue with soldiers, and towing a flat-boat with dragoon horses, hove in in sight: *such a hallo as we gave*.

As the steamer landed the Indians fired twenty or thirty shots into them, but we could not ascertain with any effect. The soldiers as they got ashore could not be restrained, and plunged into the woods in every direction, while the howitzers sent grape after the retreating redskins. The soldiers were soon at our store, and we, I think I may say, experienced quite a feeling of relief on opening our doors.

During this time we had not heard from below. A company of dragoons under Colonel Steptoe went on down. Dan went with them. The block-house at the Middle Cascades still held out. Allen's house was burned and every other one below. George W. Johnson's, S. M. Hamilton's F. A. Chenoweth's, the wharf boat at Cascades—all gone up. Next in order comes the attack on the *Mary*. She lay in Mill Creek, no fires, and wind hard ashore. Jim Thompson, John Woodard, and Jim Herman were just going up to the boat from our store, and had nearly reached her as they were fired upon. Herman asked if they had any guns. No. He went on up to Inman's house, the rest staying to help get the steamer out.

Capt. Dan Baughman and Thompson were ashore on the upper side of the creek hauling on lines, when the firing from the Indians became so hot that they ran for the woods, past Inman's house. The fireman, James Lindsay, was shot through the shoulder. Engineer Buckminster shot an Indian with his revolver on the gang-plank, and little Johnny Chance went climbing up on the hurricane deck, with an old dragoon pistol, killed his Indian; but he was shot through the leg in doing so. Dick Turpin, half crazy, probably, taking the only gun on the steam-boat, jumped into a flat-boat lying alongside, was shot, and jumped overboard and was drowned. Fires were soon started under the boiler and steam was raising. About this time, Jesse Kempton, shot while driving an ox team from the saw-mill, got on board; also a half-breed named "Bourbon," who was shot through the body. After sufficient steam to move was raised, Hardin Chenoweth ran up into the pilot-house, and, lying on the floor, turned the wheel as he was directed from the lower deck. It is almost needless to say that the pilot-house was a target for the Indians. After the steamer was fairly backed out and turned around, he did toot that whistle at them good. Toot! toot! toot! it was music in our ears. The steamer picked up Herman on the bank above. Inman's family, Sheppard, and Vanderpool all got across the river in skiffs, and boarding the *Mary*, went to the Dalles.

Colonel George Wright and the ninth regiment, Second Dragoons, and Third Artillery, had started for Walla Walla, and were out five miles, camped. They received news of the attack at eleven P. M., and by daylight were back at The Dalles. Starting down, they only reached Wind Mountain that night, as the *Mary's* boiler was in bad order, because of a new fireman the day before. They reached us the next morning at six o'clock.

Now for below. George Johnson was about to get a boat's crew of Indians, when Indian Jack came running to him, saying the Yakimas had attacked the block-house. He did not believe it, although he heard the cannon. He went up to the Indian village on the sand-bar to get his crew; saw some of the Cascade Indians, who said they thought the Yakimas had come, and George now hearing the muskets, ran for home. E. W. Baughman was with him. Bill Murphy had left the block-house early for the Indian camp, and had nearly returned before he saw the Indians or was shot at. He returned, two others with him, and ran for George Johnson's, about thirty Indians in chase. After reaching Johnson's, Murphy continued on and gave Hamilton and all below warning, and the families embarked in small boats for Vancouver. The men would have barricaded in the wharf-boat but for want of ammunition. There was considerable government freight in the wharf-boat. They stayed about the wharf-boat and schooner nearly all day, and until the Indians commenced firing upon them from the zinc house on the bank. They then shoved out. Tommy Price was shot through the leg in getting the boats into the stream. Floating down they met the steamer *Belle* with Phil Sheridan and forty men, sent up on report of an express carried down by Indian Simpson in the morning. George and those with him went on board the steamer and volunteered to serve under Sheridan, who landed at George's place and found everything burned. The steamer returned, and the Indians pitched into Sheridan, fought him all day, and drove him with forty men and ten volunteers to below Hamilton's, notwithstanding he had a small cannon—one soldier killed.

The steamer *Belle* returned the next day (third of the attack) and brought ammunition for the block-house. Our partner, Bishop, who was in Portland, came up on her. Steamer *Fashion*, with volunteers from Portland, came at the same time. The volunteers remained at the Lower Cascades. Sheridan took his command, and with a bateau loaded with ammunition, crossed to Bradford's Island on the Oregon side, where they found most of the Cascade Indians, they having been advised by George Johnson to go on there the first day of the attack. They

were crossing and recrossing all the time, and Sheridan made them prisoners. He pressed a boat's crew, and as they towed up to the head of the island and above, saw great numbers of Indians on the Washington Territory side and opposite them. Sheridan expected them to cross and fight him, and between them and the friendly(?) Indians in his charge, thought he had his hands full.

Just then Sheridan discovered Steptoe and his dragoon infantry and volunteers coming down from the *Mary*, surprising completely the Indians, who were cooking beef and watching Sheridan across the river. But on the sound of the bugle the Indians fled like deer to the woods, with the loss of only one killed—"old Joanam." But for the bugle they ought to have captured fifty.

The ninth regiment are building a block-house on the hill above us, also at George Johnson's, and will hereafter keep a strong force here. Lieutenant Bissell and twelve men who were stationed at the Upper Cascades, were ordered away, and left for The Dalles two days before the attack was made upon us.

The Indians Sheridan took on the island were closely guarded. Old Chenowith (chief) was brought up before Colonel Wright, tried, and sentenced to be hung. The Cascade Indians, being under treaty, were adjudged guilty of treason in fighting. Chenowith died game; was hung on the upper side of Mill Creek. I acted as interpreter. He offered ten horses, two squaws, and a little something to every "tyee," for his life; said he was afraid of the grave in the ground, and begged to be put into an Indian dead house. He gave a terrific warwhoop while the rope was being put around his neck. I thought he expected the Indians to come and rescue him. The rope did not work well, and while hanging he muttered, "*Wake atka kwans kopu meinalouse!*" (I'm not afraid to die.) He was then shot. I was glad to see he old devil killed, being satisfied that he was at the bottom of all trouble. But I can not detail at too great length.

The next day Tecomeoc and Cap. Jo were hung. Cap. Jo said all the Cascade Indians were in the fight. The next day Tay, Sim Lasselas, and Four-fingered Johnny were hung. The next day Chenowith Jim, Tumalth, and Old Skein were hung, and Kanewake sentenced, but reprieved on the scaffold. Nine in all were executed. Bannha is a prisoner at Vancouver and decorated with ball and chain. The rest of the Cascade Indians are on your island, and will be shot if seen off of it. Such are Colonel Wright's orders. Dow, Watlquin, Peter, Mahooka John, Kotyue, and maybe more of them, have gone with the Yakimas.

I forgot to mention that your house at the Lower Cascades, also Bishop's, was burned; also to account for Capt. Dan Baughman and Jim Thompson. They put back into the mountains, and at night came down to the river at Vanderpool's place, fished up an old boat and crossed to the Oregon side. They concealed themselves in the rocks on the river bank opposite, where they could watch us; and at night went back into the mountains to sleep. They came in safely after the troops arrived.

We do not know how many Indians there were. They attacked the block-house, our place, and drove Sheridan all at the same time. We think there was not less than two or three hundred. When the attack was made on us three of our carpenters ran for the middle block-house, overtook the cars at the salmon house, cut the mules loose, and, with the car drivers, all kept on. They were not fired on until they got to the spring on the railroad, but from there they ran the gauntlet of bullets and arrows to the fort. Little Jake was killed in the run. Several were wounded.

I append a list of killed and wounded. But this is a long letter; but knowing you would be anxious to hear all the particulars, I have endeavored to give you a true description. Dan is writing to others at home, and has read this letter. We have got to work again building and transporting; are going to build a saw-mill as soon as we can. We had but few poor specimens of men here during the fight, generally

all behaving well. There was, however, one notable exception—a person who arrived at the store but a few minutes before the fight commenced, and whose name I will give you in person. Am a little afraid to go to Rock Creek to fish, in fact have had no time so far. Don't think I shall have much fishing this summer. Wish you were back.

KILLED.—George Griswold, B. W. Brown and wife, killed at the saw-mill, bodies found stripped naked in Mill Creek; Jimmy Watkins, driving team at mill; Henry Hagar, shot in Watkins' house, body burned; Jake Kyle, German boy; Jacob White, sawyer at mill; Bourbon, half-breed, died on the *Mary* going to The Dalles; James Sinclair, of the Hudson's Bay Company, Walla Walla; Dick Turpin, colored cook on the steamer *Mary*; Norman Palmer, driving team at mill; Calderwood, working at mill; three United States soldiers, names unknown; George Watkins, lived four days; Jacob Roush, carpenter, lived six days.

WOUNDED.—Fletcher Murphy, arm; J. Lindsey, shoulder; Tommy Price, thigh; Moffat, railroad, hand; M. Bailey, leg and arm; two soldiers, United States army; P. Snooks, boy, leg; Jesse Kempton, shoulder; H. Kyle, German; Johnny Chance, leg; J. Algin, slightly.

The conduct of Colonel Wright in this affair was highly praised by the press and people. Although in camp, on his way to Walla Walla, when the courier brought him news of the attack just before midnight, he at once roused his men and marched the whole command, infantry, artillery and dragoons back to The Dalles, loaded all of them he could possibly crowd upon the steamers and barge, and hastened to the rescue. They were delayed by the condition of the boilers, but when they finally reached the scene of action Colonel Wright and Colonel Steptoe led the troops in person in a charge before which the enemy fled like sheep. No less gallant was the conduct of Lieutenant Phil Sheridan. The news reached Vancouver late in the evening of the attack, and at five next morning he started up the river with forty dragoons and a few volunteers. His conduct while there has been related.

The intelligence reached Portland late on the night of the twenty-sixth, and created great excitement. A public meeting was called, and a company of volunteers organized the next day. They were refused the use of Territorial arms by those who had them in charge, and having picked up twenty pieces of various descriptions, started early in the morning of the twenty-eighth, on the steamer *Fashion*. The company was forty strong, and was commanded by Captain L. J. Powell and Lieutenant A. B. Stewart. Procuring arms and ammunition at Vancouver, after much delay, they arrived at the Lower Cascades too late to be of any assistance to Lieutenant Sheridan, and but a short time before the Indians

were scattered by Colonel Wright. Later, a company of sixty-eight men, commanded by Captain S. Coffin and Lieutenants R. N. McLaren and J. M. Breck, went up on the steamer *Jennie Clark*, and, finding everything quiet, returned to the city. A second public meeting was held in Portland on the twenty-eighth. In times of excitement there are always to be found plenty of men who seem to find pleasure in intensifying the panic by inconsiderate language, lugubrious predictions and rash conduct. People of this character having conceived the idea that Portland was in danger of attack, though just why they were never able to explain, called a meeting for the purpose of taking measures to defend the city. H. W. Davis was appointed to the command of the forces to be raised, and two hundred men enrolled their names in response to a call for volunteers. Before the company was fully organized the absurdity of the whole proceeding became apparent, and the matter was quietly dropped.

The latest exhibition of anxiety was the departure from Portland, on the fifth of April, of a mounted company of twenty-five rangers, under Captain W. S. Buckley and Lieutenant L. J. Powell, who made a fruitless scout in the direction of the Sandy, in search of Indians who might harbor evil designs upon the peace and welfare of the city. Not finding any, they returned, and the people, now relieved of all anxiety, again abandoned themselves to "the sweet vicissitudes of pleasure and repose."

CHAPTER XXVII.

CAMPAIGNS OF COLONELS WRIGHT, STEPTOE AND SHAW.

Additional Defenses at the Cascades—Colonel Wright Invades the Yakima Country—He Fails to Negotiate with Kama-i-akun, and Returns to The Dalles—Plans of Governor Stevens—He sends the Second Regiment into the Walla Walla Country in two Battalions—Composition of the Regiment—Battle of Grand Ronde—Battle of Burnt River—Killed and Wounded—Colonel Shaw Averts a War with the Nez Percés—Colonel Steptoe sent to Walla Walla to Build a Fort—His Proclamation that the Indian Treaties were not yet in Force—Governor Stevens Invites the Tribes to Hold a Council at Walla Walla—The Council an Unfriendly one—Lack of Harmony between Stevens and Steptoe—Stevens Attacked by the Indians and is Rescued by Steptoe—A Block-house Built and Garrisoned and Troops Return to The Dalles—Colonel Wright Leads an Expedition to Walla Walla—He holds a Council and Arranges a Peace upon the Grounds of Mutual Forgiveness for the "Late Unpleasantness"—Governor Stevens' Treaties and his Opinion of Wright's Treaty—Northern Indians Invade Puget Sound—Erection of Fort Walla Walla—Situation of affairs in the Indian Country—Colonel Steptoe's Defeat in the Palouse Country—His Disastrous Retreat South of Snake River—A Record of Heroism and Cowardice—Colonel Wright Chastises the Indians at Medical Lake—The Spokanes, Yakimas and Palouses Sue for Peace and Surrender Unconditionally—Hostages Taken and Twelve Indians Hung—The Walla Wallas Tamely Submit to the Hanging of Four of their Number.

THE proposed movement into the Walla Walla country, so suddenly interrupted by the attack upon the Cascades, was abandoned by Colonel Wright, whose forces camped for a time at The Dalles. Two block-houses were built at the Cascades, one at the Upper landing and one at the Lower, which were well garrisoned and provisioned. A large block-house was also built at

Vancouver, in the rear of the barracks. Having thus fortified those points against attack, and leaving a strong force at The Dalles, Colonel Wright moved north into the Yakima country, expecting to form a junction at the Natchess Pass with Colonel Casey, whom he had ordered to move with two companies across the mountains to meet him. His object was not to make an attack upon the Indians, but, in pursuance of the instructions of General Wool, to meet Kama-i-akun in council and agree upon the basis of a lasting peace. He moved north early in May, and on the eighth met the Indians near the Natchess River. He undertook to negotiate with them, but failed utterly to accomplish anything. On the eleventh, having ascertained that at least one thousand warriors confronted him, representatives being present from nearly all the disaffected tribes, he dispatched a courier to The Dalles for reinforcements. Three companies at once moved to his aid, raising his effective force to two hundred and fifty men. There he remained for several weeks, vainly endeavoring to hold a council with Kama-i-akun. A few Indians visited his camp from time to time, more for the purpose of keeping posted on his movements than anything else, but no chiefs came near him. He constructed a fort on the bank of the Natchess, where the stream was two hundred feet wide; and the Indians, having been reduced to living upon their horses and what salmon could be caught, moved away. Colonel Wright then returned to The Dalles, having accomplished nothing of importance, unless it was to more firmly settle the Indians in their previous opinion that the settlers and the troops were distinct peoples, and the latter would not aid the former to fight them.

Meanwhile, the two companies, called out by Governor Curry, had taken station at The Dalles, and Governor Stevens was preparing for a campaign on his own account. He was fearful that if something was not done at once to humble the hostiles, they would corrupt the Nez Percés, Spokanes, Colvilles and Cœur d'Alenes, and a most powerful combination be formed against the whites. Quiet had been restored on the Sound, the last sign of war being a brief battle on the Nesqually early in April, between Indians and Captain Maxon's company. Consequently, Governor Stevens began early in May, while Colonel Wright was in the Yakima country, to

organize a force to accomplish his purpose of making a proper display of power where it would have the desired effect. His ideas, plans and movements are fully detailed in the following extracts from letters addressed by him to the Secretary of War, at Washington, D. C. On the twenty-third of May he wrote :—

Two hundred horsemen on the Natchess, well supplied, mounted and under a vigorous officer, at this juncture, will, with the operation of the regular troops, drive him (the enemy) across the Columbia. This force I am now organizing at Camp Montgomery, and it will be ready in ten days. In this view the Walla Walla country must be held; communication be established with the Nez Perce auxiliaries, and the enemy restricted to the country north of the Snake, and on the immediate banks of the Columbia, north of the Snake. I am organizing a force of two hundred men to occupy the Walla Walla. One hundred men are already at The Dalles. They will move with one hundred days' provisions, and some to spare for the Nez Perce auxiliaries and the troops which may be concentrated there from the Yakima country. The Yakima and Walla Walla country firmly held, the passes well watched over the Cascades, the main force of the enemy on the Snake and Upper Columbia, we may then be able to disband the bulk of the remaining volunteers on the Sound. This most favorable view of the progress of the war, which can not be developed in a shorter period than four to six weeks, will practically keep in service all the volunteers for their six months' term of service, and may render it necessary to extend the term on the part of those occupying the Walla Walla. * * Thus, to transfer the war from the settlements on the Sound and the Columbia River to the interior, to strike such blows as opportunities may offer, and to be in readiness to prepare for a vigorous winter campaign, I shall, in ten days, be ready to move over the Natchess with two hundred horsemen and one hundred and fifty pack animals, and to the Walla Walla with two hundred horsemen and one hundred days' provisions.

Under date of June 8th, he says :—

The two expeditions referred to, one over the Cascades into the Yakima country, the other from The Dalles to the Walla Walla, are nearly ready for the movements. Both expeditions I deem of vital consequence, in view of the present condition of things in the interior. All the information which I have received, goes to satisfy me, that unless the most vigorous action is at once taken, all the tribes from the Cascades to the Bitterroot will be in the war, a portion of the Nez Perces alone excepted. I shall to-morrow push to The Dalles, and urge the Walla Walla expedition forward with all possible dispatch. I trust it will be in season. The troops all reached The Dalles on yesterday, but it was supposed that a portion of the animals which were taken on the emigrant trail from the Willamette to The Dalles, will be a day or two behind. If the troops reach the Walla Walla before an overt act has been committed, I am certain that the combination can be broken up, and that the Nez Perces and the Indians on and in the neighborhood of the Spokanes will remain friendly.

July 7th, the Governor details additional events as follows :—

The force from the Sound, under the immediate command of Lieut. Col. B. F. Shaw, moved from Camp Montgomery on Wednesday and Thursday, June 11th and 12th, and crossing the mountains with the loss of only one animal, camped on the Wenass on the twentieth. At that point Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw received

orders from me to push to the Walla Walla, unite his force with that moving from The Dalles, and take command of the whole. The force from The Dalles moved from the camp five miles beyond the Des Chutes River, on Wednesday, June 25th, and was expected to reach the Walla Walla on the fourth of July. Each column numbered nearly two hundred men. The whole force consists of three hundred and fifty enlisted men, and about one hundred quartermaster and Indian employes. From the Walla Walla, Indian supplies will be pushed to the Nez Perces and Spokanes, and an escort will accompany them, should the simple presence of a force in the Walla Walla valley be not sufficient to insure the safety of the train, protected, as it is expected it will be, by Indian auxiliaries. Letters have been received from Lieut. Col. Wm. Craig, agent of the Nez Perces, of the twenty-ninth of May and eighth of June, speaking more favorably of the condition of things in the interior. Kama-i-akun, at a council held with the Spokanes on the twenty-fifth of May, wherein he urged that tribe to join the war, received a negative to his proposition. The Spokanes, however, harbor the hostile Cayuses, which has caused me to be somewhat apprehensive of the sincerity of their professions. I was at The Dalles from Saturday, June 14th, to Monday, June 30th, getting the expedition off and collecting information in relation to the Indians. At that time the hostile bands were much scattered. Some three hundred hostiles were at the head of John Day's River; a large camp of hostiles, supposed to be Walla Wallas under the son of Peu-peu-mox-mox, were at Fort Walla Walla. The Cayuses were on the Spokane. The Klikitats and Yakimas were on the Placouse River, and probably small parties at Priest's Rapids. The large camp reported by Lieutenant-Colonel Craig, in his letter of May 27th, and composed of individuals of several tribes, including the Snakes, I have no information that they have moved from the place where they were when Colonel Craig wrote. There were Snakes with the party at the head of John Day's River, and the force was increasing. It is proposed to strike the party at the head of John Day's River, by a force of about one hundred and seventy-five men, consisting of one hundred volunteers of Oregon, under Major Layton, and seventy-five volunteers of Washington, under Captain Goff. The plan was to move from Well Springs on the thirtieth of June, which point is on the emigrant road, some eighty-five miles from The Dalles.

The force which thus invaded the Walla Walla country was known officially as the "Second Regiment W. T. Mounted Volunteers," and was under the command of Colonel B. F. Shaw. The Lieutenant-Colonel was William Craig, the old mountaineer who was living among the Nez Perces, and had organized a company of sixty of these friendly Indians to co-operate with the volunteers. They were led by Spotted Eagle. George Blankenship and H. J. G. Maxon were Majors of the first and second battalions. There were six companies of volunteers, amounting to a total of three hundred and fifty men, one each raised by H. J. G. Maxon in Clarke County; by Captain Achilles on Lewis River; by B. L. Henness in Thurston County, and by Bluford Miller and M. P. Goff in the Willamette Valley. The two Oregon companies, referred to in the Governor's letters, as commanded by Major Lay-

ton, were those called out by Governor Curry, to guard the Columbia.

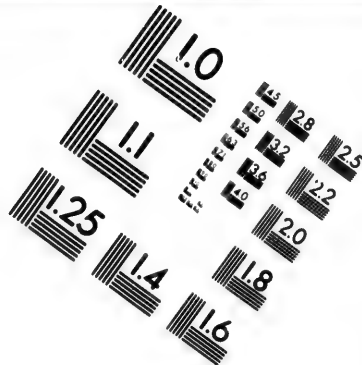
Immediately after going into camp on Mill Creek, two miles above the present city of Walla Walla, one hundred mule packs of Indian supplies were sent with a light escort to the friendly Nez Percés, under the charge of A. H. Robie, as special agent. On the fourteenth of July Colonel Shaw moved with one hundred and sixty men and ten days' rations, to attack a band of hostiles who were reported as concentrating in the Grand Ronde Valley. He was guided through the Blue Mountains by Captain John, a Nez Percé chief. The following account of his movements is taken from his official report:—

We arrived in the Grand Ronde Valley on the evening of the sixteenth, and camped on a branch of the Grand Ronde River in the timber, sending spies in advance, who returned and reported no fresh sign. On the morning of the seventeenth, leaving Major Blankenship of the Central, and Captain Miller of the Southern battalions, assisted by Captain DeLacy, to take up the line of march for the main valley, I proceeded ahead to reconnoitre, accompanied by Major Maxon, Michael Marchmean, Captain John, and Dr. Burns. After proceeding about five miles we ascended a knoll in the valley, from which we discovered dust arising along the timber of the river. I immediately sent Major Maxon and Captain John forward to reconnoitre, and returned to hurry up the command which was not far distant. The command was instantly formed in order; Captain Miller's company in advance, supported by Maxon, Henness and Powell's companies; leaving the pack train in charge of the guard under Lieutenant Goodwin, with a detachment of Goff's company under Lieutenant Wait; and Lieutenant William's company in reserve, with orders to follow on after the command.

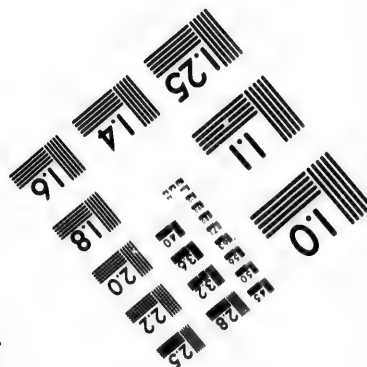
The whole command moved on quietly in this order, until within half a mile of the Indian village, where we discovered that the pack train had moved to the left, down the Grand Ronde River. At this moment, a large body of warriors came forward, singing and whooping, and one of them, waving a white man's scalp on a pole. One of them signified a desire to speak, whereupon I sent Captain John to meet him and formed the command in line of battle. When Captain John came up to the Indians, they cried out to one another to shoot him, when he retreated to the command, and I ordered the four companies to charge.

The design of the enemy evidently was to draw us into the brush along the river, where, from our exposed position, they would have the advantage—they no doubt having placed an ambush there. To avoid this, I charged down the river toward the pack train. The warriors then split, part going across the river, and part down toward the pack train. These were soon overtaken and engaged. The charge was vigorous and so well sustained that they were broken, dispersed and slain before us. After a short time, I sent Captain Miller to the left and Major Maxon to the right, the latter to cross the stream and cut them off from a point near which a large body of warriors had collected, apparently to fight, while I moved forward with the commands of Captain Henness and Lieutenant Powell to attack them in front. The Major could not cross the river, and, on our moving forward the enemy fled, after firing a few guns, part taking to the left, and part continuing forward.





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Those who took to the left fell in with Captain Miller's company, who killed five on the spot, and the rest were not less successful in the pursuit, which was continued to the crossing of the river, where the enemy had taken a stand to defend the ford. Being here rejoined by Captain Miller and by Lieutenant Curtis with part of Maxon's company, we fired a volley, and I ordered a charge across the river, which was gallantly executed. In doing this, Private Shirley Ensign of Henness' company, who was in the front, was wounded in the face. Several of the enemy were killed at this point. We continued the pursuit until the enemy had reached the rocky canyons leading towards Powder river and commenced scattering in every direction, when, finding that I had but five men with me, and the rest of the command scattered in the rear, most of the horses being completely exhausted—I called a halt, and fell back, calculating to remount the men on the captured horses and continue the pursuit after night.

I found the pack train, guard and reserve, encamped on a small creek not far from the crossing, as I had previously ordered them to do, and learned that a body of the enemy had followed them up all day, and annoyed them, but had inflicted no damage beyond capturing many of the animals which we had taken in charge, and left behind.

I learned, also, that Major Maxon had crossed the river with a small party, and was engaged with the enemy, and wanted assistance. I immediately dispatched a detachment under Lieutenants Williams and Wait, sending the man who brought the information back with them as a guide. They returned after dark, without finding the Major, but brought in one of his men whom they found in the brush, and who stated that one of the Major's men was killed, and that the last he saw of them they were fighting with the Indians. At daylight I sent out Captain Miller with seventy men, who scouted around the whole valley without finding him, but who, unfortunately, had one man killed and another wounded whilst pursuing some Indians. I resolved to move camp the next day to the head of the valley, where the emigrant trail crosses it, and continue the search until we became certain of their fate. The same evening I took sixty men under Captain Henness, and struck upon the mountain and crossed the heads of the canyons to see if I could not strike his trail. Finding no sign I returned to the place where the Major had last been seen, and there made search in different directions, and finally found the body of one of his men (Tooley) and where the Major had encamped in the brush. From other signs it became evident to me that the Major had returned to this post by the same trail by which we first entered the valley.

Being nearly out of provisions, and unable to follow the Indians from this delay, I concluded to return to camp, recruit for another expedition in conjunction with Captain Goff, who had, I presumed, returned from his expedition to John Day's River.

I should have mentioned previously that in the charge, the command captured and afterwards destroyed about one hundred and fifty horse loads lacamas, dried beef, tents, some flour, coffee, sugar, and about one hundred pounds of ammunition and a great quantity of tools and kitchen furniture. We took also about two hundred horses, most of which were shot, there being but about one hundred serviceable animals.

There were present on the ground from what I saw, and from information received from two squaws taken prisoners, about three hundred warriors of the Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, Tygh, John Dry and DesChutes tribes, commanded by the following chiefs: Stock Whitley and Slim-mis-tas-tas (DesChutes and Tygh); Chick-lah, Plyon, Wic-e-cal, Wat-ah-stuartih, Win-im-snoot (Cayuses); Tah-kin Cayuse, the son of Peu-peu-mox-mox (Walla Walla), and other chiefs of less note.

The whole command, officers and men, behaved well. The enemy was run on the gallop fifteen miles, and most of them who fell were shot with the revolver. It is impossible to state how many of the enemy were killed. Twenty-seven bodies were counted by one individual, and many others we know to have fallen and been left, but were so scattered about that it was impossible to get count of them. When to these we add those killed by Major Maxon's command on the other side of the river, we may safely conclude that at least forty of the enemy were slain, and many went off wounded. When we left the valley there was not an Indian in it; and all the signs went to show that they had gone a great distance from it.

On the twenty-first instant we left the valley by the emigrant road, and commenced our return to camp. During the night Lieutenant Hunter, of the Washington Territory volunteers, came into camp with an express from Captain Goff. I learned, to my surprise, that the Captain and Major Layton had seen Indians on John Day's River; had followed them over to the head of Burnt River, and had had a fight with them, in which Lieutenant Eustus and one private were killed, and some seven Indians. They were shaping their course for the Grand Ronde Valley, and had sent for provisions and fresh horses. I immediately sent Lieutenant Williams back with all my spare provisions and horses, and continued my march. On Wild Horse Creek I came across Mr. Fites, a pack master, who had been left in camp, who informed me, to my extreme satisfaction, that Major Maxon and his command arrived safe in camp, and were then near us with provisions and ammunition. These I sent on immediately to Captain Goff.

I learned that Major Maxon had been attacked in the valley by a large force of Indians on the day of the fight; had gained the brush and killed many of them; that at night he tried to find our camp, and hearing a noise like a child crying, probably one of the captured squaws, had concluded that my command had gone on to Powder River, and that the Indians had returned to the valley by another canyon. He moved his position that night, and the next day saw the scout looking for him, but in the distance thought it was a band of Indians hunting his trail. Conceiving himself cut off from the command, he thought it best to return to his camp, thinking that we would be on our way back to Grand Ronde with provisions and ammunition.

The force under Captain F. M. P. Goff, seventy-five men, and Major Layton, one hundred men, had moved up the John Day, and crossing the Blue Mountains reached the vicinity of Burnt River on the twelfth of July. Owing to severe illness of Captain Goff, he was forced to remain in camp until the fifteenth, with a portion of his command, while the remainder of the force, under Major Layton, was scouting in search of the enemy. Layton's scouts reached the head of Burnt River on the fifteenth and camped, when Lieutenant John Eustus, with two men, proposed ascending a neighboring bluff to get a view of the surrounding country. They were advised not to attempt it, but determined to do so, and, as they approached the summit, were fired upon by ambushed hostiles, the Lieutenant and Daniel Smith of Company K being killed. The third man made a miraculous escape, and was met in his wild flight by comrades coming to his assistance, before he reached the camp

that lay in plain view below. Lieutenant Hunter, at the head of his command, charged up the hill, drove the Indians off from it, recovered the bodies of the dead soldiers, and then fell back to camp. The next morning found them surrounded by the enemy, and a skirmishing engagement followed through the day, which resulted in nothing decisive except the wounding of one soldier named Cheney, the wounding of one, and killing of three Indians. On the seventeenth, as Captain Goff approached the battle ground with his company, the hostiles disappeared, and, on the eighteenth, the line of march in the direction of Grand Ronde was resumed. Forming a junction with Major Maxon, both forces moved to the general camp on Mill Creek.

In the battles on Burnt River and in Grand Ronde Valley, the following casualties occurred: Killed, Lieutenant John Eustus, and privates Daniel Smith, William Holmes, of Company K; William Irven, William F. Tooley, of Company A. Wounded, James Cheney, of Company K; Thomas Conio, of Company A; Shirley Ensign, of Company C; William Downy, of Company D; T. N. Lilley, of Company I.

When Colonel Shaw reached Mill Creek, he found Agent Robie there, having been ordered out of the Nez Perce country with his goods, and having made a forced march of one hundred miles to reach a place of safety. From this it was apparent that the war party in that tribe had gained the ascendancy. The danger which Governor Stevens had feared was imminent; but Colonel Shaw acted promptly in the emergency, using the prestige of his recent victory at Grand Ronde to the best possible advantage. He sent the Nez Perce chief, Captain John, to his countrymen at Lapwai with intelligence of recent events; and charged him to convey to them the following message: "I am your friend. I have not come to fight you, but the hostiles; but, if you beat your drums for war, I will parade my men for battle." This news and message was enough. The peace party again gained control of the tribe and the threatened danger was averted. Had the Nez Perces gone to war, every tribe between the Cascade and Rocky Mountains would have joined in a war of extermination, and the settlements on Puget Sound, in the Willamette Valley and in Southern Oregon would have been hemmed in and threatened, if not actually attacked, by

a cordon of warriors extending from California to British Columbia, until a sufficient force of troops could be sent to their relief. What horrors might have resulted, appals the mind to contemplate.

Colonel Shaw remained in camp on Mill Creek to hold the key to the Indian country and retain the advantages gained by so great a sacrifice. Meanwhile, Colonel Wright had returned to The Dalles from his fruitless expedition into the Yakima country, and proceeded to carry out his previous design of establishing a military post in the Walla Walla country, which had been so hastily abandoned when the attack was made upon the Cascades. He assigned this duty to Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe, placing at his disposal a battalion of two hundred and fifty men. It was then determined to do what should have been done in the first place—to notify the people that the treaties were not yet in force, and every one must remain out of the Indian country until the pending treaties were ratified, except the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and others who, like that corporation, had made special arrangements with the Indians. Before starting, therefore, Colonel Steptoe made the following announcement:—

FORT DALLES, O. T., August 20, 1856.

The undersigned, having been designated to establish a military post in the Walla Walla country, and with a view to prevent all misunderstanding on the subject, believes it proper to make known the following instruction he has received from the Pacific Military Department:—

"No emigrant or other white person, except the Hudson's Bay Company, or persons having ceded rights from the Indians, will be permitted to settle or to remain in the Indian country, or on land not settled, or not confirmed by the Senate and approved by the President of the United States."

These orders are not, however, to apply to the miners engaged in collecting gold at Colville mines.

[Signed]

E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Colonel U. S. A.

Five days before the issuance of this proclamation, Governor Stevens, having conferred with Colonel Wright as to his plans, went up to the Walla Walla camp for the purpose of mustering out the volunteers, whose term of service expired on the eighth of September, as soon as Steptoe should arrive to relieve them. He also proposed to hold councils with the tribes and agree upon terms of a permanent peace. When he arrived at Colonel Shaw's camp, on Mill Creek, near the present city of Walla Walla, he sent out runners to all the tribes, inviting them to attend a general

council in the Walla Walla Valley. Colonel Steptoe arrived on the fifth of September, and went into camp, five miles below the proposed council ground. What occurred there is related by Governor Stevens in a letter to the Secretary of War, and, in perusing it the reader is cautioned to keep constantly in mind the strong prejudices and marked egotism of the author. The events related are no doubt correct, but inferences drawn and opinions expressed fall short of doing full justice to the regulars, or representing their conduct in the proper light. Throughout the whole war, as has been amply shown by previous events, he acted as though every one, including the officers of the regular army, must bend to his ideas; everything must be measured with his tape line; his idea of co-operation was for the regulars to be guided entirely by him; when they failed so to do he freely charged them with incompetency and willful misconduct, and in that spirit this letter was written. It says:—

On the evening of the tenth. the Indians being all in except the Yakimas, and none friendly except a portion of the Nez Perces, and orders having been given to all the volunteers to go home the next day, I made a requisition upon Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe for two companies of his troops and his mountain howitzers, and to my surprise, learned from his answer that he had moved his camp to a point on Mill Creek some seven or eight miles above my camp, and that his orders from General Wool did not allow him to comply with my requisition. I say to my surprise, for in my interview with Colonel Wright at Vancouver, referred to in my report of the fourteenth of August, I understood, as I went to the interior in my capacity simply of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, that in effecting the objects of the council, I was to have the co-operation of the military force he was about to send there; a co-operation which the good of the service most urgently demanded. I had already raised nearly two hundred six months' men to strengthen the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw, under a proclamation issued immediately after the receipt of the news of the battle of Grand Ronde, and I had four months' supplies to subsist them. This proclamation was revoked on my arrival at Vancouver, and the troops raised under it disbanded. In interviews held afterwards with Colonel Wright at The Dalles, I dwelt upon the objects to be gained by the council; referred to the effect of the presence of his troops there, and left him with the belief that it was an arranged and agreed on thing between the Colonel and myself, that I was to have the countenance and support of the regular force in the Walla Walla to carry into effect the beneficent designs of the council. Colonel Wright stated that other duties would prevent his accompanying me; that he had entire confidence in Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe, the officer in command, and his presence would be unnecessary. Accordingly, previous to Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's reaching the valley, I sent him two letters, each urging him to camp near me; my object being to show the Indians the strength of our people, and the unity of our councils; and I also wrote Captain D. Russell, on his way from the Yakimas with three companies, to the same effect. On the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe in the valley, I urged him personally to camp near me. The requisition was refused and

I was therefore obliged to countermand the order sending home the volunteers whose term of enlistment had all expired, and of which only Goff's company, sixty-nine rank and file, remained, a portion of whom were on their way down, and had to be called back. This force only remained to guard my camp.

The council opened on the eleventh and continued on the twelfth and thirteenth, when so alarming was the condition of affairs, that I deemed it my duty, on the morning of the thirteenth, to address a confidential note to Steptoe, advising him that one-half of the Nez Perces were unquestionably hostile; that all the other tribes were hostile, with a very few exceptions, and that a company of his troops was essential to the security of my camp; and at his suggestion I moved my party, train and supplies, with Goff's company of volunteers, to the vicinity of his camp. I met Kama-i-akun and his followers on my way there, and it is probably owing to no one being advised of my intention to move till the order was given an hour before I started, that I was not attacked on the road. Kama-i-akun had unquestionably an understanding, as subsequent events showed, with all the Indians, except the friendly Nez Perces (about one-half the nation), and a small number of friendly Indians of the other tribes, to make an attack that day or evening upon my camp. He found me on the road to his great surprise, and had no time to perfect his arrangements. I had learned in the night that Kama-i-akun had encamped on the Touchet the night before, and that he would be in this day. The council re-opened on the sixteenth; all the Indians were camped near, Kama-i-akun and his band being only separated from the council ground by a narrow skirt of woods in the bottom of Mill Creek; and was closed the next day, all my efforts, both to make an arrangement with the hostiles, and to do away with the disaffection of the Nez Perces having proved abortive. On the eighteenth, at a separate council with the Nez Perces, all, both hostile and friendly Nez Perces, advised the sub-agent, Wm. Craig, not to return to the Nez Perce country as his life would be in danger, and they were afraid he would be killed. At the conclusion of this council, in a brief address to the Indians, I expressed my regrets that I had failed in my mission; that no one said "Yes" to my propositions, and now had only to say, "Follow your own hearts; those who wish to go into war, go." My propositions were unconditional submission to the justice and mercy of the Government, and the rendition for trial of murderers.

In the afternoon Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe informed these Indians that he came there to establish a post, not to fight them; trusted they should get along as friends, and appointed the next day, a little after noon, for a special conference. The Indians did not, however, come to see Steptoe at the time appointed. They previously set fire to his grass, and following me as I set out about eleven o'clock on my way to The Dalles, they attacked me within three miles of Steptoe's camp at about one o'clock in the afternoon. So satisfied was I that the Indians would carry into effect their avowed determination in the councils in their own camps for several nights previously to attack me, that, in starting I formed my whole party and moved in order of battle. I moved on under fire one mile to water, when forming a corral of the wagons and holding the adjacent hills and the brush on the stream by pickets, I made my arrangements to defend my position and fight the Indians. Our position in a low open basin, five or six hundred yards across, was good, and with the aid of our corral, we could defend ourselves against a vastly superior force of the enemy. The fight continued till late in the night. Two charges were made to disperse the Indians, the last led by Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw in person with twenty-four men; but, whilst driving before him some one hundred and fifty Indians, an equal number pushed into his rear, and he was compelled to cut his way through them towards camp, when, drawing up his men, and aided by the teamsters and pickets, who gallantly sprang forward, he drove the

Indians back in full charge upon the corral. Just before the charge the friendly Nez Perces, fifty in number, who had been assigned to hold the ridge on the south side of the corral, were told by the enemy, they came not to fight the Nez Perces, but the whites. "Go to your camp," said they, "or we will wipe it out!" Their camp, with the women and children, was on a stream about a mile distant; and I directed them to retire as I did not require their assistance, and was fearful that my men might not be able to distinguish them from hostiles, and thus friendly Indians be killed.

Towards night I notified Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe that I was fighting the Indians; that I should move the next morning, and expressed the opinion that a company of his troops would be of service. In his reply he stated that the Indians had burnt up his grass, and suggested that I should return to his camp, and place at his disposal my wagons, in order that he might move his whole command and his supplies to the Umatilla or some other point, where sustenance could be found for his animals. To this arrangement I assented, and Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe sent to my camp Lieutenant Davidson, with detachments from the companies of dragoons and artillery with a mountain howitzer. They reached my camp about two o'clock in the morning, everything in good order, and most of the men at the corral asleep. A picket had been driven in an hour and a half before by the enemy: that on the hill south of the corral, but the enemy was immediately dislodged and ground pits being dug, all the points were held. The howitzer having been fired on the way out, it was believed nothing would be gained by waiting till morning, and the whole force immediately returned to Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe's camp. Soon after sunrise, the enemy attacked the camp, but were soon dislodged by the howitzer and a charge by a detachment from Steptoe's command. On my arrival at the camp, I urged Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe to build a block-house immediately; to leave one company to defend it with all his supplies; then to march below and return with an additional force and additional supplies, and by a vigorous winter campaign to whip the Indians into submission. I placed at his disposal for the building, my teams and Indian employes. The block-house and stockade were built in a little more than ten days. My Indian storeroom was rebuilt at one corner of the stockade. On the twenty-third September, we started for The Dalles, which we reached on the second October. Nothing of interest occurred on the road.

In the action of the nineteenth, my whole force consisted of Goff's company of sixty-nine rank and file, the teamsters, herders and Indian employes, numbering about fifty men. Our train consisted of about five hundred animals, not one of which was captured by the enemy. We fought four hundred and fifty Indians, and had one man mortally, one dangerously, and two slightly wounded. We killed and wounded thirteen Indians. One-half the Nez Perces, one hundred and twenty warriors, all of the Yakimas and Palouse, two hundred warriors; the great bulk of the Cayuses and Umatillas, ——— warriors; ——— of the Walla Walla and Indians from other bands, were in the fight. The principal war chiefs were the son of Ouhi, Isle de Pere and chief Qultomee; the latter of whom had two horses shot under him, and who showed me a letter from Colonel Wright, acknowledging his valuable services in bringing about the peace of the Yakimas. I have failed, therefore, in making the desired arrangements with the Indians in the Walla Walla, and the failure, to be attributed in part to the want of co-operation with me as Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the part of the regular troops, has its causes also in the whole plan of operations of the troops since Colonel Wright assumed command. I state boldly, that the cause of the Nez Perces becoming disaffected and finally going into war, is the operations of Colonel Wright east of the Cascades—operations so feeble, so procrastinating, so entirely unequal to the

emergency, that not only has a most severe blow been struck at the credit of the Government and the prosperity and character of this remote section of country, but the impression has been made upon the Indians that the people and the soldiers were a different people. I repeat to you officially that when the Indians attacked me, they expected Colonel Steptoe would not assist me, and when they awoke from their delusion, Kama-lakun said, "I will now let these people know who Kama-lakun is." One of the good effects of the fight is, that the Indians have learned that we are one people, a fact which had not previously been made apparent to them by the operations of the regular troops. Is, sir, the army sent here to protect our people and to punish Indian tribes, who without cause, and in cold blood, and in spite of solemn treaties, murder our people, burn our houses, and wipe out entire settlements? Is it the duty of General Wool and his officers to refuse to co-operate with me in my appropriate duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and thus practically to assume those duties themselves? Is it the duty of General Wool, in his schemes of pacifying the Indians, to trample down the laws of Congress; to issue edicts prohibiting settlers returning to their claims, and thus for at least one county, the Walla Walla, make himself dictator of the country?

Early in November the regulars again marched into the Walla Walla country, Colonel Wright taking command of the expedition in person, and camped on Mill Creek on the site of the city of Walla Walla. Here he held a council with the tribes and agreed upon terms of peace. He promised them immunity from punishment for their past conduct, and that the treaties should not be enforced until duly ratified by the Senate and promulgated by the President, until which time no white man would be permitted to settle in their country without their permission. Thus ended the war. That this did not meet with the approval of Governor Stevens can well be imagined. He had always maintained that the Indians had bound themselves by solemn obligations, which they had deliberately broken, and for which conduct they were deserving of severe chastisement. It is one of the simplest rules of equity that a contract must be equally binding upon both parties to be valid. Governor Stevens knew this; and yet he insisted that these treaties were in full force with the Indians while as yet they were not binding upon the Government, being as yet unratified. Had he, as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington, and his associate official in Oregon, Joel Palmer, acted prudently, and, instead of hastening to notify the people that the Indian title had been extinguished by treaty, cautioned them, that, as yet, the treaties were but blank paper, and no rights whatever had been acquired under them by the whites, the whole difficulty, with its attendant train of bloodshed and expense, might, perhaps, have been averted. It

is not certain that such would have been the case, but beyond a doubt there would have been one powerful disturbing element absent. The Governor relieved his feelings in another of those long letters to the Secretary of War, none of which seem to have influenced the Department to remove, or even censure, General Wool or Colonel Wright. He closed his epistle with the following paragraph: "I now make the direct issue with Colonel Wright; that he has made a concession to the Indians which he had no authority to make; that by so doing, he has done nothing but to get the semblance of a peace. [This was, in a measure, true; for the Indians still entertained their bitter feelings against the Americans, and exhibited a very defiant spirit]; and that by his acts he has, in a measure, weakened the influence of the service having the authority to make treaties and having in charge the friendly Indians. [Governor Stevens himself was responsible for weakening the influence of the treaty-making power, by endeavoring to enforce treaties he well knew were not in effect.] He has, in my judgment, abandoned his own duty, which was to reduce the Indians to submission [to Governor Stevens], and has trenched upon and usurped mine." It is well enough to let the matter drop; the war was ended, and the people had a large bill against the General Government, which was, finally, after experiencing the usual vicissitudes and procrastinations of Congressional action, paid in a somewhat modified form.

It was subsequent to this affair at Walla Walla, and after all the volunteers had been disbanded, that the long dreaded invasion of Northern Indians occurred on Puget Sound. Information was received by Captain S. Swartwout on the eighteenth of November, 1856, that Northern Indians were committing depredations in the vicinity of Steilacoom, and he at once set sail from Seattle to intercept them. Learning at Steilacoom that the Reservation Indians had defeated these Northern intruders in battle, killed two of them and captured one canoe, Swartwout pursued the retreating savages down the Sound. Passing Port Madison, where they had committed ravages, he continued on to Port Gamble, where, on the twentieth he found them encamped in force. An effort to open a peace talk was fruitless, as they would not permit a boat to land. Accordingly, Lieutenant Young was dispatched with three boats, forty-five men and a howitzer, to escort an interpreter, who was to offer

them peace if they would abandon the Sound. They refused to accept the terms, and insultingly challenged the marines to fight. Lieutenant Young returned on board, and Captain Swartwout determined to attack them in the morning. During the night the ship was moved in shore, and anchored with her broadside bearing upon the camp, only six hundred yards distant. In the morning Lieutenant Semmes went in the first cutter to the consort *Steamer Traveller*, which was anchored above the camp so that it could be raked by the field pieces on board. From there he landed with Lieutenant Forest and twenty-nine sailors and marines, wading waist deep to reach the shore and carrying a howitzer in their arms. With them went the interpreter to carry a final proposition of peace. Instead of being daunted by the formidable preparations for their subjugation, the Indians refused to accept the terms offered, and taking shelter behind trees and logs pointed their guns at the little party on the beach. The *Traveller* at once opened fire upon them from her field guns, the first discharge being simultaneous with the first volley fired by the savages. Instantly the ship poured a broadside of round shot and grape into the camp and woods where they were concealed, while the howitzer on the beach also sent in its compliments. Under cover of the guns, the little party made a bold charge and drove the Indians from their camp into the woods. Owing to the density of underbrush and fallen timber, it was impossible to follow them, and, after destroying the camp and property of the marauders and disabling all but one of their canoes, Lieutenants Semmes and Forest returned on board. During the day the guns played upon the woods wherever an Indian could be seen, and it was thought the execution was considerable. On the part of the assailants, one man was killed and another wounded. The next day the Indians sent two of their chiefs on board to beg for mercy and offer to surrender unconditionally. They said that they had lost twenty-seven of their number, besides many wounded, that their property and canoes were destroyed and they had been without food two days. They were all supplied with food, taken on board the ship, and carried to Victoria, promising never to return. Never after that were the white settlements molested by marauding savages from the north, though the aborigines of the Sound have frequently suffered from their hostile incursions.

There was now a semblance of peace everywhere. The volunteers had all been disbanded, and an ample force of regulars was stationed in Southern Oregon, on the Columbia and on Puget Sound. A strong force occupied the Walla Walla country, and endeavored, while the treaties were being ground through the official mill at Washington, to stand as a bulwark between the two races, and prevent either from infringing the rights of the other. A small saw mill was taken up in the spring of 1857, and lumber cut for the erection of barracks and officers' quarters, which were built within the present limits of the city of Walla Walla. In the command of this post was Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe, the garrison consisting of several companies of the 9th Infantry. The Indians were still in a hostile frame of mind, and the presence of the troops in their country was distasteful to them, the feeling extending to, and affecting, the tribes as far north as the Spokanes. This feeling is revealed in a letter written April 15, 1857, by Father A. Hoeken, of the Flat Head Mission, addressed to a brother priest. A paragraph of that epistle says:—

Father Ravalli labored as much as he could to pacify the tribes which reside towards the west, namely: the Cayuses, the Yakimas, the Opelouses [Palouses], etc. As our neophytes [Flat Heads and Cœur d'Alenes] hitherto have taken no part in the war, the country is as safe for us as ever. We can go freely wherever we desire. No one is ignorant that the Black Gowns [Catholic priests] are not enemies—those, at least, who are among the Indians. Almost all the Cœur d'Alenes, in order to shield themselves from the hostilities of the Indians, and to avoid all relations with them, are gone bison hunting. A few days since, Father Joset wrote me that Father Ravalli had already written him several weeks before. I fear a general rising among the Indians toward the commencement of spring. Let us pray, and let us engage others to pray with us, to avert this calamity. I think that it will be well to add to the ordinary prayers of the mass, the collect for peace.

The outbreak did not occur as predicted, owing, possibly, to the efficacy of the worthy missionaries' prayers, but apparently due to an absence of a sufficient provocation which might serve as a pretext for war. That not much of a provocation was required was made evident the following year.

In the spring of 1858 Palouse Indians stole some stock from the troops at Walla Walla, and on the eighth of May Colonel Steptoe marched north, with a force of one hundred and fifty men, intending to visit Fort Colville, and on his return to capture the thieving Indians. This expedition met with signal disaster,

through most unmilitary carelessness. One hundred mules were detailed for the pack train, and when these were loaded it was found that there was no room for the surplus ammunition which had been set out. This was taken back to the magazine, and the command marched with only the ammunition carried in the cartridge boxes of the men. Such carelessness invited the disaster which followed.

Step toe crossed Snake River, near the mouth of the Alpowa where he was joined by a friendly Nez Perce chief named "Timothy," and three of his warriors. Continuing north, he approached four lakes lying north of Pine Creek, the Indians gradually collecting in great numbers. Here he was informed by them that he must leave this region and return to Walla Walla, or they would attack him. Camping at the lakes for the night, the command began its retrograde march at three o'clock on the morning of the seventeenth of April, the Indians continually hovering on its flanks. Step toe held a conference with Saltees, a Cœur d'Alene chief, Father Joseph acting as interpreter, being assured that no attack would be made upon him. The chief then shouted something to his followers, when one of the friendly Nez Percés, named Levi, struck him on the head with a whip, saying, "What for you say 'no fight' and then tell your people 'wait awhile'? You talk two tongues." About nine o'clock in the morning, as the command approached Pine Creek, near the present town of Rosalia, passing down a natural "wash," it was fired upon by Indians secreted in the timber across the stream, and occupying elevated positions on the flank. Lieutenant Gaston promptly charged and cleared an opening to the highlands south of the creek, being followed by the entire force. The howitzer was unlimbered and discharged, killing no one, but serving, by its noise, to somewhat intimidate the assailants. By charging them, the enemy were cleared away, and the retreat was resumed with the pack train in the van, the flanks and rear being covered. Lieutenant James Wheeler was on the right, Lieutenant William Gaston on the left, and Captain O. H. P. Taylor guarded the rear, each with a company. Charge after charge of the enemy was repulsed, men falling continually and being left to the tender mercy of the savages in many cases where it was impossible to carry them away. At last many of Lieutenant Gaston's men used their last round of

ammunition, and he sent an orderly to Colonel Steptoe, who was with the train in the van, asking that the command be halted until more could be issued; but the request was not granted. Captain Taylor's company next fired its last shot, and this fact, as well as the fall of Gaston, was communicated to the superior officer. He then ordered a halt. The contest in the rear was now a desperate hand to hand struggle. Both Gaston and Taylor lay on the ground, their men fighting stubbornly for possession of their bodies. Among them was a private named DeMay, who had been an officer in the French army in Algiers and the Crimea, and was an excellent swordsman. Clubbing his musket he made a furious onslaught upon the assailing savages, and as he was borne down by numbers he cried, "Mon Dieu, Mon Dieu, mine saber!" At last the Indians were driven back and the body of Captain Taylor was rescued. So demoralized had become the main body of the troops, that the call of Lieutenant Gregg for volunteers to go to the assistance of the hard-pressed rear guard, was answered by only ten men. He then led a charge, but soon found himself alone and rode back without uttering a word. To save the retreat from becoming a complete rout, which would have resulted in the utter annihilation of the force, Colonel Steptoe went into camp and threw out a strong line of pickets. The Indians encamped near by, apparently willing to bide their time, feeling certain of their victims. Every avenue of escape was guarded but one, and that one was a difficult pass which they supposed the soldiers could not travel. The Nez Perce chief was then their savior. When the night was well advanced, having cached the howitzers and left their surplus stores to engage the attention of the savages, so as to delay pursuit in the morning, the troops mounted and followed Timothy in single file, as he led them through the unguarded pass.

The wounded of each company were placed in charge of some of their comrades, a few of them being so badly hurt as to be utterly helpless. These were tied upon pack animals. Two of them, Sergeant Williams and Private McCrosson, suffered such excruciating agony from the motion of the animals, that they begged to be killed, to be given poison, or a pistol with which to end their misery. Both of them succeeded in wriggling off from the animals they rode in different places; and their comrades, cutting them

free from the lashings, left them lying on the ground, and rode away into the darkness unmindful of their pleadings for something with which to end their misery and save themselves from the tortures of their cruel pursuers. One by one the wounded, such as could not take care of themselves, were left behind, and the men hastened forward, intent only upon putting the swift current of Snake River between themselves and the cruel enemy in their rear. Seventy miles were traversed in twenty-four hours, when they reached the river near the mouth of the Alpowa, where lived Timothy's band of Nez Percés. Summoning his people, the chief placed the warriors on guard in the rear, while the women ferried the exhausted soldiers, with their animals and effects, across the stream. It took a day to accomplish this task, and then they moved on to the Pataha, where they were met by Captain Dent, with supplies and reinforcements. Here, also, they were overtaken by a war party of Nez Percés under Lawyer, who desired them to return and give the Indians battle; but they desired no more fighting for the present, and the march to Walla Walla was continued. Two officers and sixteen men were left upon the field or along the line of the retreat, while more than a score of those who found safety by crossing Snake River, were severely wounded.

Intelligence of this disaster was conveyed to General Clark, successor of General Wool in command of the department, and he ordered all available troops on the Coast to assemble at Walla Walla, for the purpose of administering to the Indians such a castigation as would teach them the power of the Government. This force was placed under the command of Colonel Wright. A base of operations, named "Fort Taylor," was established on the south side of Snake River, near the Tukannon, and on the twenty-seventh of August Colonel Wright moved forward with six hundred and eighty soldiers, thirty Nez Percé allies, and two hundred packers, herders, etc. On the first of September he encountered the hostiles near Medical Lake, and whipped them severely. They were driven from the timber and hills by the howitzers, and a charge by the troops, and attempting to make a stand on the open plain, were mowed down by the fire of the steadily advancing troops, who were armed with long range guns for the first time in their encounter with Indians. When they

broke, two hundred dragoons, under the command of Major William N. Grier, swooped down upon them, and they fled in a panic, the companies of the dead Taylor and Gaston taking grim revenge upon the fleeing savages who had slain their commanders. How many were killed is not known, as all but those who fell during the last charge were carried from the field. Seventeen bodies were left upon the ground, which was strewn with blankets, robes, guns and the miscellaneous paraphernalia of Indian warriors. Not a soldier was killed in the battle.

Four days later the command reached Spokane River, six miles below the falls, having driven the hostiles before them for fourteen miles, killing many of them. This was the end; the Indians fled in terror, and dared not again offer battle to such a terrible foe. Colonel Wright pushed on toward the Cœur d'Alene Mission, and was met by Gearry, chief of the Spokanes, who asked for peace. The stern avenger told the suppliant chief that he came to fight, not to make peace; that he had force enough to whip the combined tribes of that whole region; that he offered no terms of peace, the Indians, men, women and children, must come in and trust to his mercy; otherwise he would exterminate the tribe. On the eighth Wright captured nine hundred and eighty-six horses from the Palouse, and, knowing how vital they were in Indian warfare, he ordered every one of them to be shot. This was more than they could endure, and the concurrent appearance of a brilliant comet in the heavens, made them think Colonel Wright was a scourge sent by the Great Spirit, who hung his flaming sword in the sky as a sign of his anger. They sued for peace.

Councils were held with the various tribes, at which, upon the demand of Colonel Wright, the men who had commenced the attack upon Colonel Steptoe were delivered up for punishment, and hostages were given for their future good conduct. Twelve of the guilty ones were hanged, among whom was Qualchien, who had killed Agent Bolan in 1855. His father, Owhi, second chief of the Yakimas, was a prisoner, and attempting to escape near Fort Taylor, was killed by the guard. On the seventh of October the bones of those who fell in Steptoe's battle were buried at Fort Walla Walla, and Wright then held a council with the Walla Walla tribe. So great had become the fear of him, that when he called

for all those who had taken part in the battle to stand up, thirty-five warriors promptly rose to their feet. Four of these were selected for execution, and their hanging was witnessed by their people with fear and trembling. This was the end, and until chief Joseph and his small band of Nez Perces broke out twenty years later, not an Indian of all those tribes went again upon the war path against the whites.

Colonel Wright was promoted during the civil war to the rank of Brigadier, and commanded the Department of the Pacific. His energy, watchfulness, and sterling patriotism kept down the ever-rising flame of treason, and held the Coast loyal to the Government throughout the bloody struggle. He became very dear to the people who had so long relied upon him for protection, and it was a day of mourning when the sad news came that he had found a watery grave. With his family and staff he was engulfed in the stormy waters of the Pacific, when, off Crescent City on the thirtieth of July, 1855, the *Brother Jonathan* carried her human cargo to a resting place beneath the billows.

The financial history of these Indian Wars presents considerable of importance to interest the reader. It has been mentioned that the demands of the war of 1853 were paid in full two years later, through the action of General Lane and others. The accounts growing out of the Walker expedition in 1854, "To fight the emigrants," as some facetious ones have termed it, were paid subsequent to the War of the Rebellion. The act of Congress which authorized their payment, was based upon a previous act approved July 17, 1854, entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of War to settle and adjust the expenses of the Rogue River War [of 1853]," which was extended to cover the case of Captain Walker's company. The claims growing out of the last Indian war achieved quite a history. In the summer of 1856 the matter of these claims was brought before Congress by the Oregon Delegate, General Lane, and being referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, a recommendation was made favorable to the payment of the expenses of the wars in Oregon and Washington, the two sets of claims—arising from the Rogue River and the Yakima wars—becoming mingled in all Congressional and official reports. In consequence of this recommendation Congress, on the eighteenth of

August, passed an act, one of whose provisions is: "*Be it enacted*, That the Secretary of War be directed to examine into the amount of expenses necessarily incurred in the suppression of hostilities in the late Indian war in Oregon and Washington by the Territorial Governments in the maintenance of the volunteer forces engaged, including pay of volunteers, and he may, if he deem it necessary, direct a commission of three to report these expenses to him," etc.

In consequence a commission, consisting of Captain Andrew J. Smith, previously many times mentioned in the account of the wars, Captain Rufus Ingalls, now General, and Lafayette Grover, of Salem, Oregon, was appointed to make the examination. They began work in October, 1856, and after spending more than a year in a careful investigation of these claims, "traveling over the whole field of operations occupied by the volunteers, during hostilities, and becoming thoroughly conversant with the matter," made their report to the Secretary of War. According to their examination the sum of \$4,449,949.33 was due as the expenses on the part of Oregon. The muster-rolls of companies represented an indebtedness, after deducting stoppages for clothing, etc., of \$1,409,644.53; while scrip had been issued to the extent of \$3,040,344.80 in payment of supplies, etc., furnished. This aggregate was exclusive of claims for spoliation by Indians, and included only what were thought to be the legitimate expenses of maintaining the volunteer force in the field. The report and accompanying documents were transmitted to Congress, and on the eighth of February, 1859, a resolution passed the House of Representatives, providing that it should be the duty of the Third Auditor of the Treasury to examine the vouchers and papers connected with the subject, and make a report in the December following of the amount due each individual engaged in the military service of the two Territories during the war. The resolution also provided that he should allow the volunteers no higher pay than was received by the officers and soldiers of like grade in the regular army, including the extra pay of two dollars per month conferred by act of Congress of 1852 on troops serving on the Pacific Coast; that he was to recognize no company or individual as entitled to pay except such as had been duly called into service by the Territorial authorities; that in auditing claims for supplies, transportation, etc., he was directed to

have a due regard to the number of troops, to their period of service and to the prices which were current at the time and place. On February 7, 1860, R. J. Atkinson, Third Auditor, made his report. It was an exhaustive and voluminous document, and it reduced the grand total of the claims of various sorts, acted on by the three commissioners, from \$6,011,457.36 to \$2,714,908.55, a reduction of about fifty-five per cent. This estimate was taken as a basis for these claims, and by a subsequent act of Congress a sum of money to correspond was appropriated to pay them.

APPENDIX.

The following lists of pioneers who came to Oregon before the territorial government was formed, March 3, 1849, and whose names do not occur in the lists printed on pages 226, 232, 246, 248, 249, 275, 283, 288, 301 and 303, have been gathered from various sources, chiefly from the records of the Oregon Pioneer Association:

1831.	Shadden, Thos. J.	Gilbey, Henry H.	Bayard, C. C.
Allan, George	1843.	Hawley, J. H.	Blaker, J. H.
1832.	Barzerin, Louis	Hewitt, D. K.	Bozarth, C. C. and J. J.
Smith, J. H.	Black, George	Jeffries, E.	Buffum, W. G.
1838.	Boyd, L. T.	Lock, A. N.	Burch, B. F.
Crate, Ed.	Boyer, Thomas	Nelson C. S. & J. C.	Caplinger, H. C. and
1840.	Carson, A. J.	Olds, R.	J. C.
Abernethy, Wm.	Chambers, E. J.	Parrish, S. M., A. J.	Cogswell, John
Black, Henry	Fendall, E. F.	and E. E.	Cole, W. D.
Caples, Chas. G. and	Gilmore, S. M.	Ramsdell, Thos. M.	Comfort, Edwin B.
Hezekiah.	Hatch, D. C. & P. H.	Rise, Preston	Cooley, Jackson
Cook, Amos.	Hembree, W. C.	Rowland, G. L. and	Cornelius, A. H., A.
Cosper, J. I.	Hobson, Richard	L. L.	M., G. B., Sam.
Smith, Alvin T.	Holman, D. S.	Shaw, G. W. & T. C.	and T. R.
1841.	Kaiser, P. C.	Smith, Simeon	Cosgrove, Hugh
Barnier, Franklin	Mack, N. P.	Snowden, S. D.	Cox, Gideon and P.
Baum, L.	Payne, Martin	Stillwell, M. D.	Crow, E. J.
Flett, John	Sitton, Nathan K.	Stump, C.	Cully, Thomas
1842.	Smith, B. F.	Terwilliger, James	Davidson, A. F.
Ekin, R. H.	Straight, Hiram A.	Thorp, E. E.	Davis, Reuben
England, William	Wilson, John	Walker, John	Day, W. P.
Force, G. C. and Jas.	Woods, J. W.	White, C. and J. E.	Delaney, David
Girty, Henry	1844.	1845.	Dixon, Wm. F.
Holman, Geo. P.	Brown, Thomas	Baber, G. H.	Doak, A. J.
Hutchins, Chas.	Burton, J. & H. H.	Bacon, J. M.	Doley, David R. S.
Lewis, Reuben	Carlin, John	Bacon, P. A.	Engle, Sam.
Moss, S. W.	Curry, George L.	Bayley, D. D.	Foss, Geo. W. and
	Gerrish, John J.	Barlow, William	Joseph H.

- Foster, John
 Gesner, Alonzo
 Garrison, L. R.
 Grant, Reuben
 Grayer, Jacob
 Hall, B. F.
 Hamilton, A. S.
 Hampton, J. D.
 Hembree, N. A.
 Henderson, W. F.
 Hern, N.
 Higgins, W.
 Hosford, C.
 Howland, J. A.
 Hussey, Al.
 Ingles, W. S.
 Jackson, George W.
 Jeffries, S. M.
 Johnson, W. Carey
 Killin, E.
 Levens, Thomas
 Lloyd, A. G.
 McCoy, John
 McMillan, J. H.
 Markham, Alfred
 Meldrum, John, J.
 W., and J.
 Morgan, E.
 Morris, J. M. and
 James M.
 Newman, John W.
 Noble, Henry
 Northup, P. G.
 Osborn, W. T.
 Parker, Samuel
 Pentland, R.
 Perry, Francis
 Phillips, John
 Pollock, Thomas
 Polly, S. B.
 Pugh, John M. and
 N. Porter
 Read, Thomas M.
 Rinearson, J. L. and
 M. P.
 Rogers, C. and J. W.
 Ruge, Thomas
 Savage, William
 Scorgin, W. A.
 Scott, Price and Rod-
 ney.
 Scroggin, S.
 Shannon, Davis and
 Wesley
 Sheperd, William
 Shirley, James
 Simmons, Archibald
 Smith, Geo. D. and
 Jennings.
 Sol. Richard
 Stephens, James B.
 Stewart, Daniel
 Stump, David
 Taylor, J. and Wm.
 Umphlet, Stanley
 Vaughan, Wm. T.
- Voss, J. H.
 Walker, C. C. and
 Elias
 Whalley, A. W.
 Wheeler, Wm.
 White, J. S.
 Wiley, R. E.
 Willey, R. E.
 Williams, C. A., J.
 J. and J. L.
 1846.
 Albright, John
 Allen, J. C.
 Anderson, Levi
 Bonney, B. F. and
 B. S.
 Bridgform, D.
 Bridges, J. H.
 Brown, Alvin C.
 Buckingham, H. C.
 Byrd, L. A.
 Campbell, S. L.
 Carter, Talbert
 Chambers, J. W.
 Church, J. S.
 Clark, Jason L.
 Clayton, Jesse
 Clozpoire, J. H.
 Collins, F. M. & J. L.
 Cove, A. S.
 Cox, G. S. and Jos.
 Crum, Wm. R.
 Crump, Turner
 Currier, J. M.
 Dunbar, R. O. and
 W. R.
 Durham, John M.
 Eliot, William
 Garrison, Rev. A. E.
 and John M.
 Guthrie, David M.
 Hart, Horace
 Hatton, Mark
 Henderson, Jno. H.
 J. J. and Robert
- Hosford, Aceneth
 Hunsaker, J. T.
 Jenkins, Stephen
 Johnson, Jacob
 King, W.
 Kirk, Wm. R.
 Labo, Isaac
 Lamber-on, Lemuel
 Laucefield, A. J.
 Larsen, Andrew
 Lewis, D. R.
 Martin, F.
 Miller, Wm.
 Murch, Geo. H.
 Perkins, Wm. F.
 Ramsby, Maxwell
 Richardson, B. M.,
 E. and J. C.
 Savage, Jno & M. R.
 Shaane, Carlos W.
 Shelton, Dr. T. W.
- Shrum, John W.
 Smith, F. R. & Jas. D.
 Thomson, R. R.
 Townsend, David &
 Thos.
 Vanbibber, L.
 Whitaker, Anthony
 1847.
 Allen, G. M., J. W.,
 R. C., T. B.
 Althouse, Samuel
 Anderson, James
 Apperson, John T.
 Bailey, John
 Baker, J. N. & W. H.
 Beal, Jacob, Jos.,
 and Philip
 Beeks, Jacob
 Bewley, J. F.
 Bird, John
 Blair, Prior F.
 Blanton, Wm.
 Bonney, Alvin C.
 and Geo. F.
 Boston, John
 Braly, J. C.
 Briggs, Elias & Isaac.
 Brisbane, John
 Brisky, John
 Brown, George J.,
 Henry & W. C.
 Bryan, Ed.
 Burch, S. T.
 Burkhart, S. C.
 Butler, George W.
 Bybee, J. F.
 Carey, G. W.
 Carter, C. M.
 Castleman, I. J.
 Caywood, T.
 Chapman, William
 Chatfield, W. H.
 Coffin, S.
 Coleman, James
 Cone, G. A. & O. H.
 Cook, A. P. & A. R.
 Cox, Joseph, Thos.
 and Wm. H.
 Crosby, C. B.
 Davidson, J. E. and
 T. L.
 Davis, Lemuel E. &
 T. W.
 Diamond, John
 Diller, W. H.
 Dimick, George W.
 Downer, J. W.
 Downing, John
 Durham, Albert A.
 and George H.
 Elliot, F. N.
 Eoff, Geo. and J. L.
 Friendly, J. R.
 Fudge, W.
 Geer, Cal. and R. C.
- Gilbert, Geo. and
 Riley.
 Gilborin, A. J.
 Graves, G. W.
 Gremam, J. W.
 Gruid, J. W.
 Guild, B. C.
 Hall, L. S.
 Hibbard, K. L.
 Hill, Henry
 Hines, John W.
 Hodges, D. R.
 Hubbard, C.
 Huddleson, C. M.
 Hughes, G. H. and
 J. T.
 Hulin, Lester
 Hunsaker, Dan and
 T. H.
 Hunt, G. W.
 Hame, W. E.
 Iler, S. W.
 Jack, R. A. & W. A.
 Jennings, Ed. J.
 Jolly, Wm. & Wm. B.
 Johnson, A. L., G.
 W., H. A., J. C.,
 L. and W. W.
 Jory, H. S.
 Keene, D. M.
 Keely, J. M. & J. W.
 Kinzey, Terry W.
 Kinder, F. P.
 Kinney, A. W. and
 Samuel
 Klum, Charles K.
 Landess, Felix and
 George
 Laughlin, Lee, R. R.
 and William
 Layton, John
 Leabo, Jacob
 Lee, Dr. N. L.
 Lock, W. S.
 Long, Edward
 Luelling, A. (two)
 McBride, T. A.
 McCaw, William
 McChrisman, Wm.
 McClain, E. C.
 McClaren, James
 McComas, J. T. (two)
 McKay, James
 McKinney, Wm.
 McHurne, W. H.
 Martin, Jacob
 Mathews, S. F.
 Mattoon, Abel and C.
 Maxon, S. P.
 Maxwell, T. O.
 May, Harney B.
 Merchant, Andrew
 and William
 Merrill, George and
 Lyman.

Meyer, Henry	Spores, Jacob, John	Woods, A. O.	Goodell, W. N.
Monteith, Thomas	and J. M.	Young, Dan'l & J. L.	Greenwood, J. W.
Moore, M. T.	Stanton, A.	Yocum, Jesse	Hanna, S.
Morely, John	Stephens, Thomas	1848.	Hendricks, C. & T. G.
Parks, J. W.	Stuy, Solomon		Holcomb, Almon and
Pearce, A.	Taylor, Christopher	Adams, Dr. W. L.	W. L.
Pettyjohn, Lewis	and L.	Armitage, G. H.	Hold, Henry C.
Pittenger, W. D.	Thompson, Ira A.	Atkinson, Rev. G. H.	Kelly, John
Polly, Peter	Tompkins, David D.	Ball, Isaac	Kellogg, Joseph
Ponjade, L. H.	Torrence, C. M., I.	Basket, G. J.	Latourette, L. D. C.
Porter, John B.	and W. J.	Bauer, Andrew	Lyman, Horace
Powell, John	Townsend, J. W.	Beal, John	McAllister, H.
Prettyman, —	Tupper, O. F. & R. S.	Brooke, Lloyd	Miller, Chris. & J. D.
Price, James	Vanbibber, William	Branson, B. B.	Musgrove, W. H.
Rainwater, A. M.	Vaughan, F. G., G.	Bristow, S. E.	Patton, W. T.
Richardson, Mathew	W., and J. F.	Burns, D. M.	Porter, Steven and
Richie, George	Walling, A. G., A.	Callison, J. T. & Robt.	William C.
Roberts, Rev. Wm.	W., Jr., & G. W.	Catlin, Charles	Roberts, A. H.
Roth, Charles	Warren, Henry	Cleaver, J. W.	Shelley, William
Rowell, J. M.	Watts, F. A.	Cleaves, Benj. and	Shedd, Francis
Saltmarsh, A.	Wheelan, Jason	James F.	Shelley, Jas. W. and
Scholl, G. W., Peter,	Whitcomb, J. H.	Conser, Jacob	Michael
Peter B. & W. T.	Whitney, Jas., Robt.	Cox, Solomon	Starr, Milton L.
Sport, R. V.	and William	Crooks, B. W. & J. T.	Trullinger, J. C.
Shambrook, George	Wilcox, Carl D.	Dickens, John	Vandevert, J. J.
Short, R. V.	Wilkins, M.	Dorris, George P.	Watt, Ahio S.
Smith, Joseph (two),	Willis, G. W.	Eastham, Wm. F.	
J. T., Nelson &	Wills, R. C.	Eggman, F. J.	
William.	Wilson, Thomas	Gibson, L. D.	

Since the preceding pages were printed, there has been discovered an old assessment roll, or rather census, of the population of the Willamette valley. Just when it was made is uncertain, but as it gives the amount of wheat raised in 1842 by the Hudson's Bay Company, and contains but two or three names of the immigrants of 1842, it was probably compiled in the fall of that year, before the immigrants had located in the valley. Most of the names in the list are incorrectly spelled, and instead of reproducing the list a summary, giving the correct spelling of names and other points of interest, by Dr. William C. McKay, is given.

Came from California in 1835 with Ewing Young—Wm. McCarty, Pierre Stanislaus, Benjamin Williams, Ewing Young, Jos. Gale, John Quannan. Rocky Mountain Trappers—Chas. Campo, J. B. Pichette, Francois Barnier, Baptiste DeGean, Antoine Bonnefaut, John Larrison, Baptiste Ducharen, Gideon Senecal. Retired Hudson's Bay Co. employes—38. Felix Hathaway, ship carpenter, came to in brig in 1832. Dr. William Bailey, came from California in 1836; George Gay, same. See page 226. American Immigrants—Jeff Brown, 1839; Geo. W. LeBreton, in ship *Chenomas* with Capt. J. H. Couch, in 1842; Charles Roe, in 1840; Sidney Smith, in 1839;

Adolph Chamberlain, in 1842; Thomas Moison, George Davis, in 1842; Jno. Hofstetter, in 1842. Jean Baptiste Pairroult, Canadian trapper of H. B. Co. Raised first fruit trees in Oregon, at Davidson's Landing. Came in the *Tonquin* in 1811—Louis LaBronte, Sr., Michell Laframboise. Came overland with Wilson Price Hunt's party in 1812—John B. Duboy, Joseph Gervais, Etinne Lucier and son Joseph See page 157. Francois Rivet, came with Lewis and Clarke in 1805 and settled among the Flatheads. Thos. J. Hubbard, born in Hoboken, N. J., and came with Wyeth in 1834. Jno. Turner, a survivor of the massacre of Smith's party on the Umpqua in 1827. See page 194, where his name should appear with those of Smith and Prior. Pierre J. Umphraville, an Oregonian, discoverer of Colville mines in 1854.

The wealth and population of Oregon indicated by this list were as follows: Living south of the Columbia were 250 males and 171 females over 18 years of age, and 397 children, a total of 818. Besides these, 60 living at the Cowlitz farm are mentioned, but nothing is said of the number at Vancouver. Property consisted of 6,770 acres of land inclosed, 33,698 bushels of wheat, 18,197 bushels of other grain and potatoes, 2,860 horses, 4,101 head of cattle, 139 head of sheep and 1,975 head of swine. The Hudson's Bay Co. is separately credited with 10,000 bushels of wheat, 1,000 pounds of butter, 7,000 sheep, 2,000 cows and 2,000 horses. These statistics show that there was much property and population, calling for the organization of the provisional government, which was effected in the spring of 1843.

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